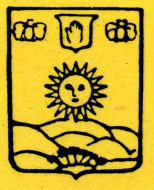
KANHERI INSCRIPTIONS

SHOBHANA GOKHALE



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DEDICATED TO GURU

H.D. SANKALIA

He is gone, but his memory remains
to guide us all.

FOREWORD

The complex of 104 rock-cut caves at Kanheri in the northern suburb of Bombay represents a large ancient Buddhist establishment. In the network of nearly 1200 caves in western India, Kanheri occupies an important and distinctive place. The caves here are joined together by steps and contain inscriptions, water cisterns with water channels, remains of dam construction, and a burial gallery (Nirvāṇa Vīthi).

The rich archaeological record of Kanheri, especially the inscriptions, has attracted the attention of scholars for nearly one-and-a-half century. As early as 1847 Sir James Bird published lithographed eye-copies of twenty-seven inscriptions, In 1861 E.W. West published eye-copies of sixty inscriptions in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.* In 1881 Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji published the Traikūṭaka copper plate, copied by Bird, in *the Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* published by the Archaeological Survey of India. G. Bühler read some thirty inscriptions which were edited by James Burgess and published in the fifth volume of the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1882.* H. Lüders recorded fifty-one inscriptions in his list of Brāhmī inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Indica Vol. X* in 1909-10 as an appendix. Thus, while much of the epigraphical record of Kanheri was copied and published, the analysis of its contents for cultural history was hardly attempted. Also, the information lay scattered in many publications.

Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale, a former Reader in the Archaeology Department of this Institute and presently a Fellow of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi first visited Kanheri in 1975 with the aim of reading previously un-read inscriptions and exploring the site for new inscriptional and other data. Subsequently she visited the site many times. Her painstaking work has been rewarded by the discovery of twenty-two epitaphs, On the basis of these epitaphs which are written in the box-headed variety of Brāhmī, Dr. Gokhale could establish a definite Vākāṭaka phase at Kanheri. The epitaphs record the names of teachers of high religious achievements. They not only throw light on the ancient Buddhist monastic institutions but bring out for the first time evidence for the teachers' tradition in western India. Dr. Gokhale has also been able to read many previously un-read inscriptions. Her interpretation of the unique sculptures of eleven-headed 'Avalokiteśvara' and Dīpatārā has highlighted the synchronization between literary and sculptural traditions and brought to light new facets of Buddhism.

Dr. Gokhale explored the catchment area behind the Kanheri hills and discovered the remains of an ancient wall and a conduit. An inscription near these remains records the construction of a lake. The corelation between the archaeological remains and the inscription provides the earliest evidence of dam construction in western India. Dr. Gokhale has presented the results of her discoveries and analyses in the present monograph, **Kanheri Inscriptions**

Dr. Gokhale's research at Kanheri was supported by the Institute with funds and staff. I am happy that the Institute is now able to publish this important work which, I hope, will prove useful to all scholars interested in the early history of western India in general and of Buddhism in particular. I am also happy that Dr. Gokhale has very appropriately dedicated her monograph to the memory of the late Professor H.D. Sankalia who consistently encouraged and supported her in all her research work.

V.N. Misra
Director.
Deccan College Post-Graduate & Research Institute
Pune.

31.3.1991

PREFACE

In 1973 I first visited Kanheri alongwith Marilyn Leese, then a Michigan University student who was working for her Ph.D. dissertation. We wanted to confirm the readings of some inscriptions. About this time in Konkan. I discovered two copper-plate sets of the Traikutaka kings Madhyamasena and Vikramasena. These copper-plates significantly contributed to the cultural history of Kanheri. In 1975 I visited Kanheri with a view to exploring and reading some 'not read' inscriptions. During the exploration work at Kanheri I observed a few well-cut stone-slabs lying in the valley in front of the burial gallery (Ṇirvāṇa Vīthi). I decided to explore the valley and I started this work with the help of Mr. V.M. Vani, the caretaker of the Kanheri caves. Our efforts were fruitful and twentytwo new epitaphs which were of great historical value came to light. The discovery encouraged me to undertake this project.

I do not find adequate words to express my deep gratitude towards the encouragement bestowed by my Guru Late Professor H.D. Sankalia and Professor P.V. Bapat alongwith whom I read Buddhist literature from the original sources. My thanks are due to Prof. A.M. Ghatage former Director, Deccan College, Prof. M.A. Mehendale, former Joint Director, Deccan College, Prof. Walter Spink of Michigan University, Prof. Van Nooten, Dr. Marilyn Leese of Berkeley University and Dr. Suresh Jadhav, scholar in Indian Art and Architecture for valuable academic discussions.

I am indebted to former Directors Prof. S.B. Deo and Prof. M.K. Dhavalikar and Prof. V.N. Misra, Director of the Deccan College as they made grants available to me from time to time for this project. I am obliged to Prof. M.S. Mate who helped in preparing the press copy. I cannot forget the help received from Mr. V.M. Vani, Caretaker of Kanheri caves who assisted me unhesitatingly. My students accompanied me many times. Their curious queries and lively discussions made my stay at Kanheri academically fruitful. My thanks are due to Dr. S.J. Mangalam, Dr. (Ms.) Meera Arole, Ms. Binda Paranjape and Mr. Neelkamal Chaudhari.

Mr. Y.S. Rasar and Mr. P.R. Kulkarni prepared maps for the book. Mr. R.B. Sapre has carefully drawn the charts of the Brāhmi script. Mr. V.K. Nagpure, photographed all the inscriptions. Shri. Sripat and Vaman Gavade took the estampages of the inscriptions. I record my thanks to them all for their ungrudging help. I must thank the staff members of the Library. I would like to express my deep gratitude to the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India for permitting to photograph the Kanheri inscriptions.

Finally, it is my privilege to thank the authorities of the Deccan College for accepting this work for publication on the occasion of the Golden Jubliee of the Institute.

Shobhana Gokhale

CONTENTS

Section – One

1. Introduction 1 – 5
2. Political Backdrop 7 – 11
3. Socio – Economic Environs 13 – 17
4. Buddhist Religion 19 – 36
5. Palaeography 37 – 39
   Palaeographical Charts 40 – 43

Section – Two

6. Inscriptions 45 – 152

1.	Inscription No. 1	45 – 47
2.	Inscription No. 2	47
3.	Inscription No. 3	47
4.	Inscription No. 4	47
5.	Inscription No. 5	47 – 52
6.	Inscription No. 6	52
7.	Inscription No. 7	52
8.	Inscription No. 8	52 – 56
9.	Inscription No. 9	56
10.	Inscription No. 10	56
11.	Inscription No. 11	56
12.	Inscription No. 12	56 – 59
13.	Inscription No. 13	59
14.	Inscription No. 14	59 – 62
15.	Inscription No. 15	62
16.	Inscription No. 16	62
17.	Inscription No. 17	62 – 66
18.	Inscription No. 18	66
19.	Inscription No. 19	66
20.	Inscription No. 20	66
21.	Inscription No. 21	66 – 71
22.	Inscription No. 22	71 – 72
23.	Inscription No. 23	72 – 73
24.	Inscription No. 24	73 – 75
25.	Inscription No. 25	75 – 77
26.	Inscription No. 26	77
27.	Inscription No. 27	77
28.	Inscription No. 28	77 – 81
29.	Inscription No. 29	81
30.	Inscription No. 30	81 – 84
31.	Inscription No. 31	84
32.	Inscription No. 32	84 – 86

33.	Inscription No. 33	86 – 88
34.	Inscription No. 34	88
35.	Inscription No. 35	88
36.	Inscription No. 36	91
37.	Inscription No. 37	91
38.	Inscription No. 38	91
39.	Inscription No. 39	91 – 95
40.	Inscription No. 40	95
41.	Inscription No. 41	95
42.	Inscription No. 42	98
43.	Inscription No. 43	98 – 102
44.	Inscription No. 44	102
45.	Inscription No. 45	102
46.	Inscription No. 46	102
47.	Inscription No. 47	102 – 109
48.	Inscription No. 48	109
49-50.	Inscription No. 49 – 50	109

Epitaphs

1.	Epitaph No. 1	111
2.	Epitaph No. 2	111
3.	Epitaph No. 3	114
4.	Epitaph No. 4	114
5.	Epitaph No. 5	114
6.	Epitaph No. 6	114
7.	Epitaph No. 7	114-120
8.	Epitaph No. 8	120
9.	Epitaph No. 9	120
10.	Epitaph No. 10	120
11.	Epitaph No. 11	120-125
12.	Epitaph No. 12	125
13.	Epitaph No. 13	125
14.	Epitaph No. 14	125
15.	Epitaph No. 15	125
16.	Epitaph No. 16	125
17.	Epitaph No. 17	125
18.	Epitaph No. 18	125-132
19.	Epitaph No. 19	132
20.	Epitaph No. 20	132
21.	Epitaph No. 21	132
22.	Epitaph No. 22	132-136
23.	Epitaph No. 23	136
24.	Epitaph No. 24	136
25.	Epitaph No. 25	136
26.	Epitaph No. 26	136
51.	Inscription No. 51	136
52.	Inscription No. 52	142

Pahlavi Inscriptions

53.	Inscription No. 53	147
54.	Inscription No. 54	147
55.	Inscription No. 55	147
56.	Inscription No. 56	147-152
57.	Inscription No. 57	152
58.	Inscription No. 58	152
Appendix No. – 1. Place Names		155
Appendix No. – 2. Personal Names		155-156
Appendix No. – 3. Architectural Terms		157
Appendix No. – 4. Professions		157
Appendix No. – 5. List of Inscriptions along with West and Lüders nos.		158
Bibliography		159-162
Index		163-168

List of figure Nos.

Figure numbers correspond to the serial number of the inscriptions which are arranged according to their locus in the caves, locus outside/or/nearby the cave found in front of or near the caves.

Inscription No.	Cave No.	Figure No.
Inscription 1	2	1
Inscription 2	2	2
Inscription 3	2	3
Inscription 4	2	4
Inscription 5	3	5
Inscription 6	3	6
Inscription 7	3	7
Inscription 8	3	8
Inscription 9	3	9
Inscription 10	3	10
Inscription 14	in front of cave No. 3	11
Inscription 15	4	12
Inscription 16	5	13
Inscription 17	7	14
Inscription 18	7	15
Inscription 19	7	16
Inscription 20	7	17
Inscription 24	16	18
Inscription 25	21	19
Inscription 26	22	20
Inscription 27	26	21
Inscription 28	32	22
Inscription 29	near cave No. 32	23
Inscription 30	39	24
Inscription 32	opposite cave No.41	25
Inscription 33	50	26
Inscription 34	54	27
Inscription 35	59	28
Inscription 37	64	29
Inscription 38	65	30
Inscription 39	66	31
Inscription 40	73	32
Inscription 41	74	33
Inscription 42	74	34
Inscription 43	75	35
Inscription 44	80	36
Inscription 45	81	37
Inscription 46	86	38
Inscription 47	87	39
Epitaph No. 1	87	40
Epitaph No. 2	87	41
Epitaph No. 3	87	42
Epitaph No. 4	87	43
Epitaph No. 5	87	44
Epitaph No. 6	87	45
Epitaph No. 7	87	46
Epitaph No. 8	87	47
Epitaph No. 9	87	48
Epitaph No. 10	87	49
Epitaph No. 11	87	50
Epitaph No. 12	87	51
Epitaph No. 13	87	52
Epitaph No. 14	87	53
Epitaph No. 15	87	54
Epitaph No. 16	87	55
Epitaph No. 18	87	56
Epitaph No. 19	87	57
Epitaph No. 21	87	58
Epitaph No. 22	87	59
Epitaph No. 23	87	60
Epitaph No. 24	87	61
Epitaph No. 25	87	62
Epitaph No. 26	87	63
Inscription 51	88	64
Inscription 53	93	65
Inscription 54	98	66
Inscription 55	98	67
Inscription 56	99	68
Inscription 57	101	69
Inscription 58	hill top	70

List of Plates

1) Chaitya Cave No. 3
2) Donor couple cave No. 3
3) Donor couple cave No. 3
4) Avalokiteśvara with Tārā and Bhṛkuṭí saving people from ten dangers cave No. 90
5) Eleven-faced kuan-yin from China
6) Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara cave No. 40
7) DipaTārā at Kanheri cave No. 3
8) Wooden Tārā from Kanheri
9) Plan of Cemetary Cave No. 87
10) Cemetary Cave No. 87
11) Pahlavi inscription (1) Cave No. 90
12) Pahlavi inscription (2) Cave No. 90
13) Pahlavi inscription (3) Cave No. 90
14) Palaeographical Chart No. 1
15) Palaeographical Chart No. 2
16) Palaeographical Chart No. 3
17) Palaeographical Chart No. 4

Explanation of signs

★ Inscription read by Bühler and edited by Bürgess
\+ Inscription noted by West and Lüders and read by other scholars.
◯ Inscription discovered and read by the author.
• Inscription not noted by West and Lüders.
△ Inscription noted by West and Lüders and read by the author.

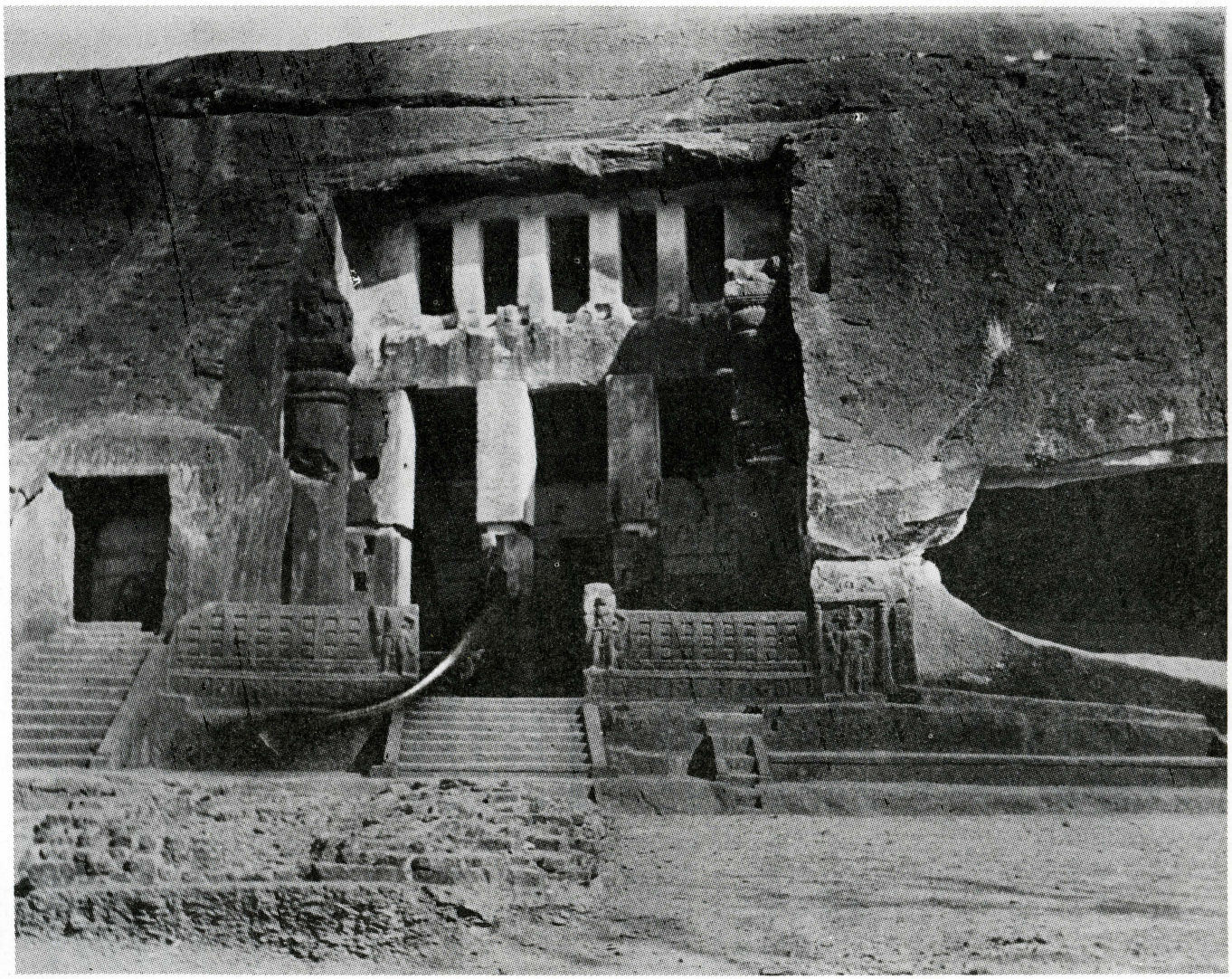


Plate No. 1) Chaitya Cave No. 3

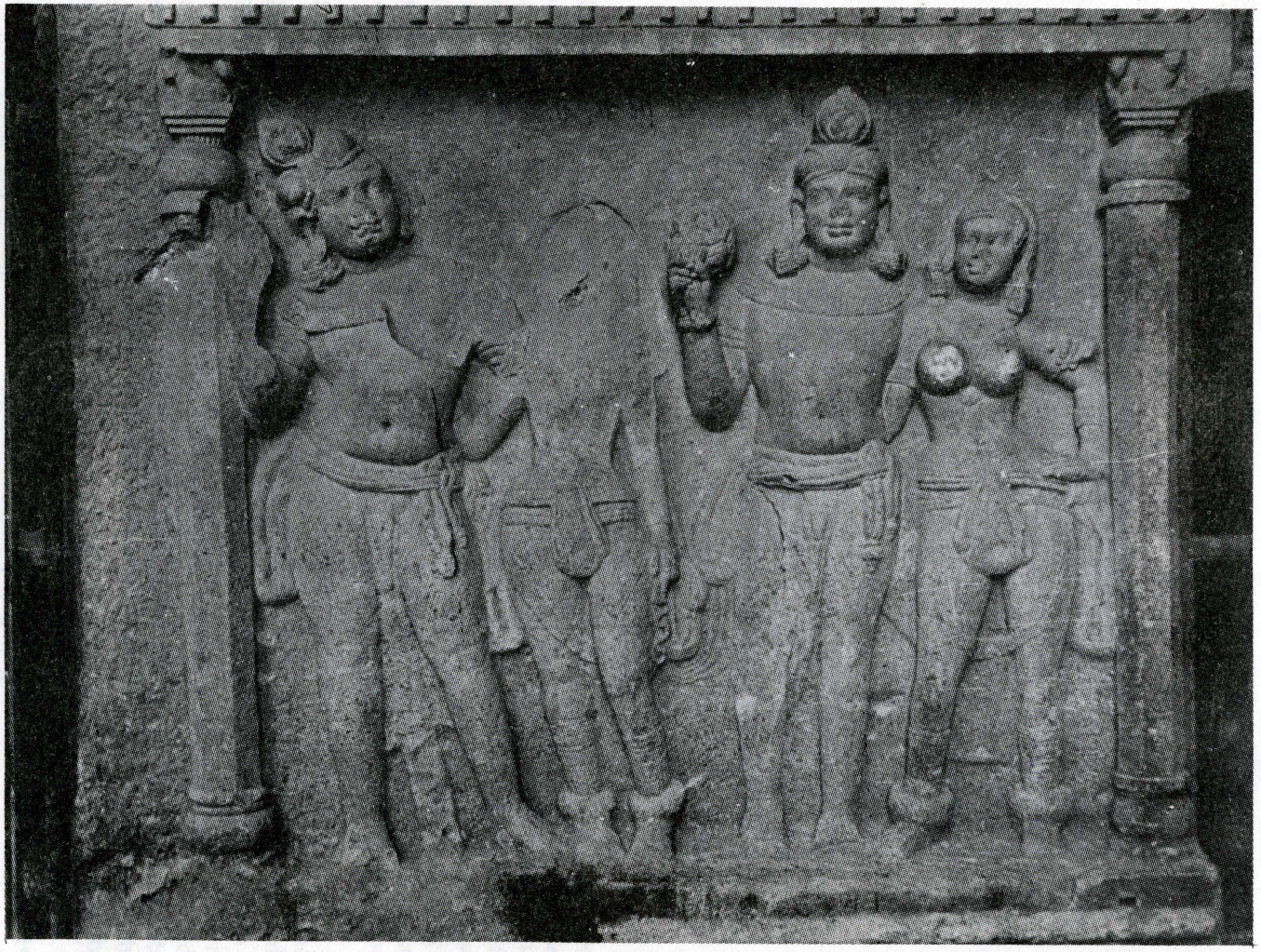


Plate No. 2) Donor couple cave No. 3

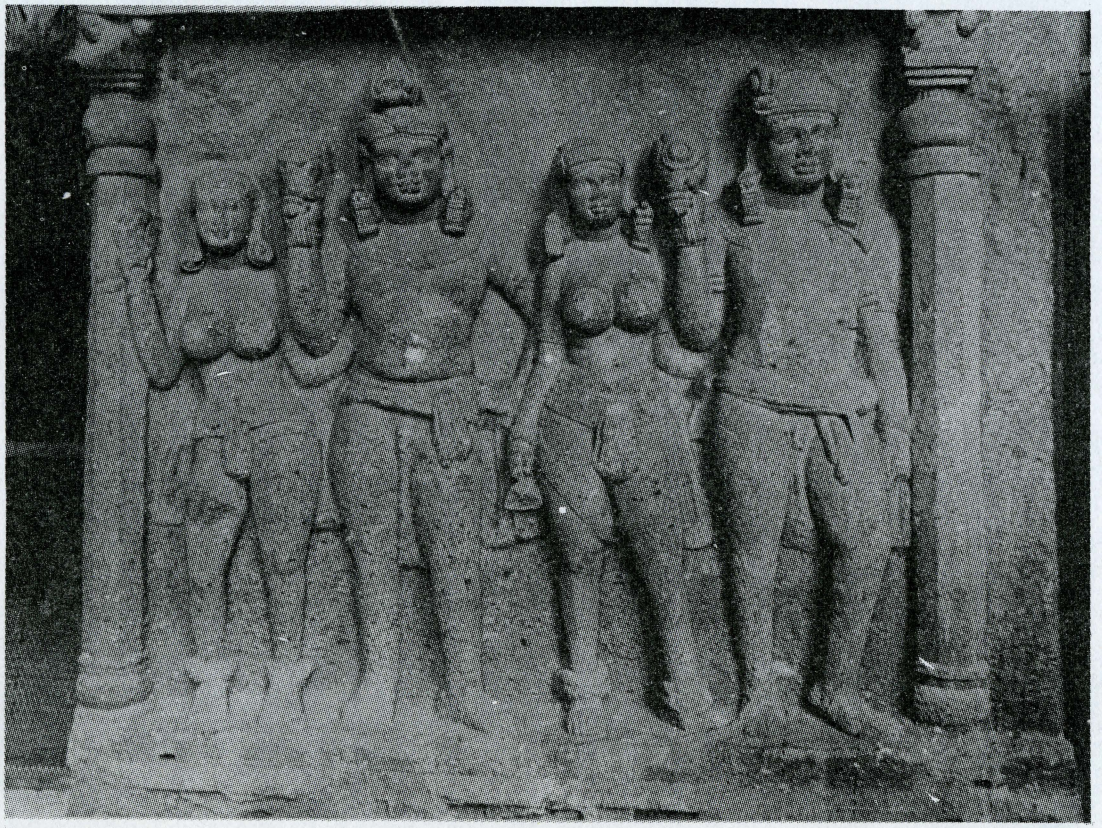


Plate 3 Donor Couple no 1 Cave no 3

1. Introduction

The name Kanheri is derived from the Sanskrit name 'Kṛṣṇagiri' which means black mountain. The name significantly indicates its geological nature. The rock of black mountain is geologically known as Volcanic Breccia. Its Prakrit name Kaṇhagiri occurs in the Nasik inscription of the Sātavāhana ruler Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvl[1] which describes the victorious career of the illustrious Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who uprooted the Śakas and Pahlvas and established the glory of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

Kanheri is 10 km to the southeast of Borivali, the suburb of metropolitan Bombay (east longitude 72° 59′ north latitude 19° 13′). From Borivali railway station one has to cross the railway line. The road which leads to Kanheri caves, goes through the national park.

The site of caves is lonely and picturesque, and not far from the ancient rich trade centres of Sopara, Kalyan and Chaul. To the east, across the forest-clad slopes of the black mountain lies Tulasi lake and beyond Tulasi, there is a belt of thick forest and then there is a gleam of the Vihar lake. The Kanheri hill commands the view from the Bombay harbour to the Bassaein creek i.e. from the north-western direction to the north direction of the Kanheri mountain.

In the entire network of nearly twelve hundred caves in Western India. Kanheri has its distinct character. There are hundred and four caves at Kanheri. Many caves have front courtyards alongwith benches. There are water cisterns, neat flights of steps leading to the cave doors, well-lit halls with windows of stone lattice, graceful sculptures, inscriptions and a burial gallery. All these architectural splendour indicate that Kanheri was a paradise for cave-cutters. From 1st century A.D. to 9th century A.D. a huge Buddhist brotherhood must have occupied Kanheri.

The Bombay Gazetteer[2] has listed the notices and accounts of Kanheri caves made by early Portuguese travellers. The earliest among them was Garcia d'orta (1534 A.D.). He has described that there were three hundred houses with images carved in stones. Dom-Joao-de-Castro (1539 A.D.) described that there were palaces-like - buildings, images, houses, pillars, water-cisterns. It was a city cut in rock that could hold seven thousand people.

Diago-de-Couto visited Kanheri in 1603 and has recorded that the caves were occupied by ascetics. Fryer visited the place in 1675 and described the magnificence of the ruined city of Kanheri. These caves were visited by Italian traveller Gemelli Careri in 1695 and later on by many European travellers.

In the middle of nineteenth century, the Brāhmī inscriptions at Kanheri attracted the attention of

European epigraphists. In 1847 Bird[3] published lithographed eye copies of twenty-seven Kanheri inscriptions. In 1852 Stevenson[4] published translations of two inscriptions in the pages of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*. In 1853 from the ink impressions prepared by Lt. P.F. Brett, Stevenson[5] published nineteen inscriptions which included the copy of the Traikūṭaka plate that was discovered by Bird in the brick stupa in front of cave No. 3. In 1861, West[6] prepared a good survey map of the caves at Kanheri and presented eye-copies of sixty inscriptions. His eye-copies are found valuable even today as they are helpful to interpret inscriptions. He undertook the excavation of the Burial Gallery which is in the south-west corner of the Kanheri complex. In 1853 his detailed report appeared in the pages of the *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*. (VI PP. 116-120)

In cave No. 10 there are mysterious Roman letters on the third pillar from the eastern side. West[7] has correctly interpreted them. they are the initials of Ann Butfer, Katherine Bakes, John Butfer and John Shaw who visited the caves in 1678 and left behind them their names which are oldest Roman names inscribed in Kanheri caves.

In 1881 Archaeological Survey of Western India published *Inscriptions of the cave-temples of Western India with* descriptive notes edited by Burgess[8] alongwith Bhagwanlal Indraji. This volume has included Pahlavi inscriptions which were first published in Indian Antiquary[9] by West. Bhagawanlal Indraji[10] published the Traikūtaka copper plate which was copied by Bird in 1881 in the *Report of Archaeological Survey of India*. Bühler's readings of thirty inscriptions edited by Burges[11] were published in the fifth volume of *Archaeological Survey of India*. Luders[12] recorded fiftyone inscriptions in his list of Brāhmi inscriptions, but he described nineteen inscriptions as 'not read'.

Dikshit[13] tried to read some inscriptions which were not read previously, in his thesis, but because of his untimely death, his work remained unpublished.

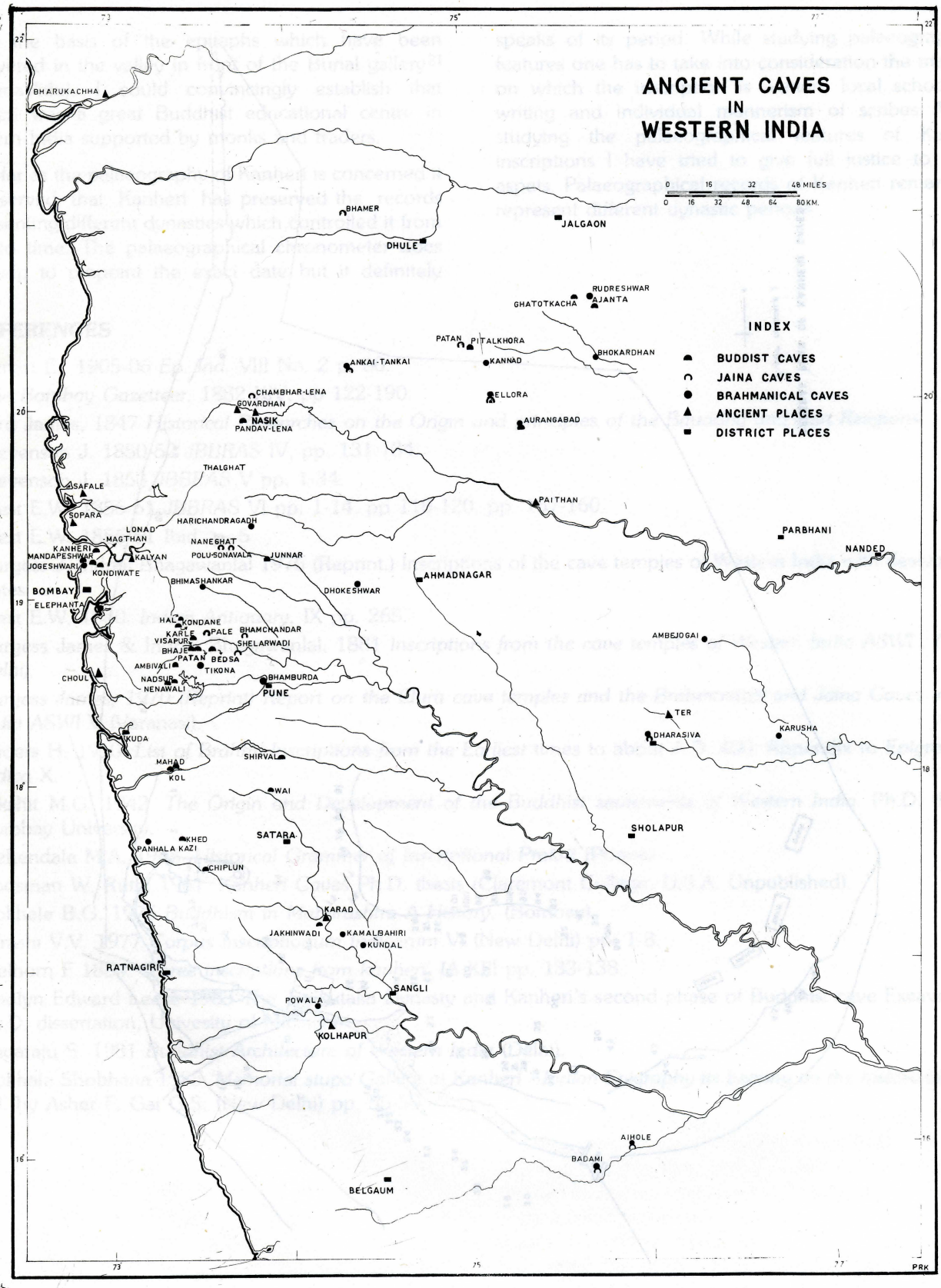
In 1948 Mehendale[14] studied the Kanheri inscriptions from linguistic point of view. Ruth Boosman[15] in her thesis on Kanheri caves took a survey of Kanheri inscriptions.

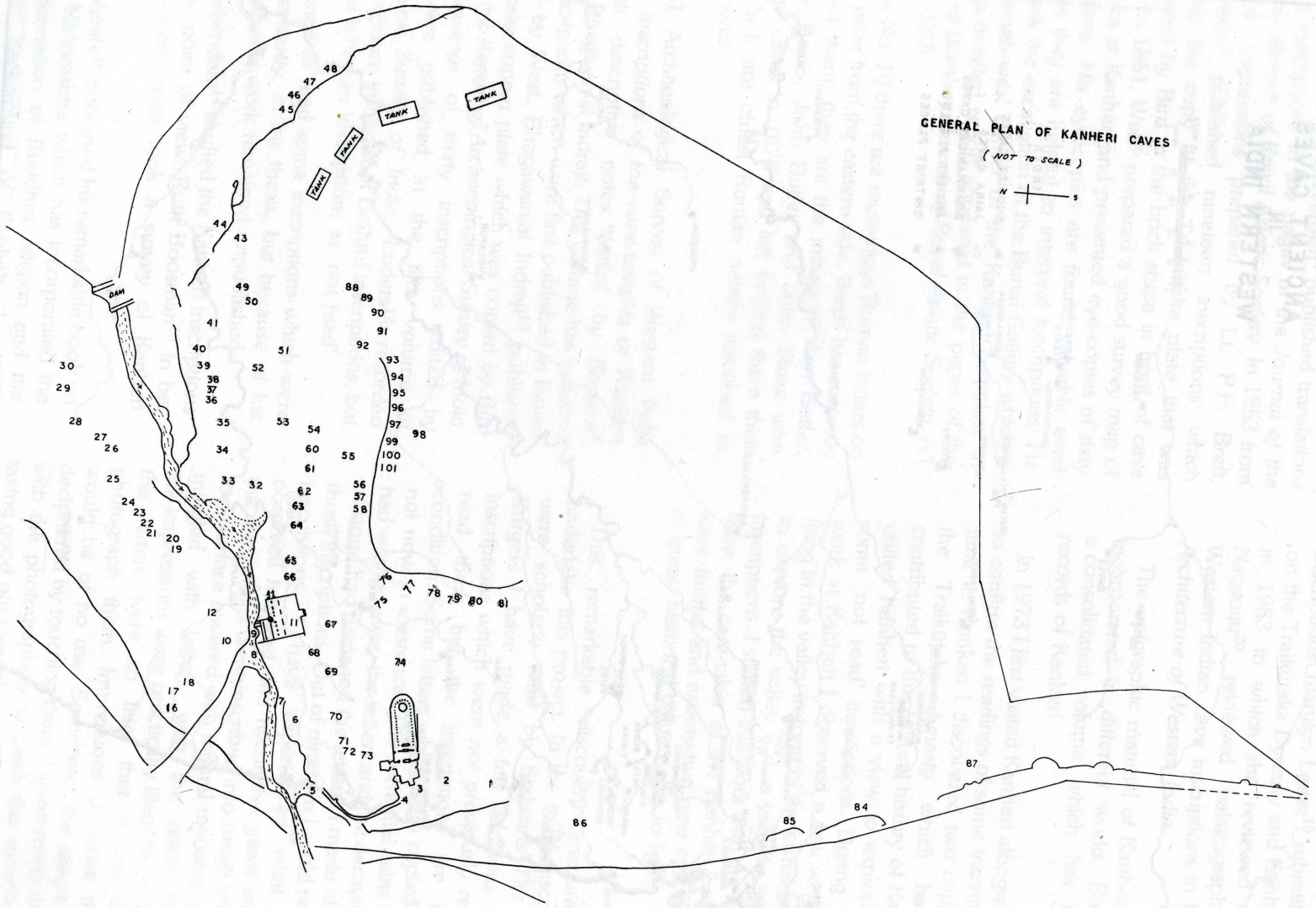
In 1976 Gokhale[16] published his remarkable book on Buddhism in Maharashtra which has incorporated the epigraphic information of Buddhist religion and the socio-economic background of Kanheri. In 1977 Mirashi[17] published three dated Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions at Kanheri which were previously read by Bhagawanlal Indraji and Kielhorn[18] in the corpus of the Śilāhāra inscriptions. Marylyn Leese[19] submitted her dissertation on the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and Kanheri's second phase in 1983 in which she reviewed some inscriptions. Nagaraju[20] reviewed palaeographical features of Western Indian cave inscriptions in his work *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*.

The epigraphic material of Kanheri is thus variously incorporated in different works. But there was not a consolidated volume which has included all the records of Kanheri.

In 1973 I first visited Kanheri alongwith Marilyn Leese to confirm the readings of some inscriptions. About this time in Konkan I discovered two copper-plate sets of the Traikūṭaka dynasty which have significantly contributed to the cultural history of Kanheri. In 1975 I visited Kanheri with a view to exploring and reading some 'not read' inscriptions. During my exploration work at Kanheri I observed a few well-cut stone slabs lying in the valley in fornt of the burial gallery. I decided to explore the valley with a view to investigating new inscriptions. I started this work with the help of Mr. V.M. Vani, the care-taker of the Kanheri caves. Our efforts were fruitful and twenty-two new epitaphs which were of great historical value came to light.

This remarkable discovery encouraged me to undertake this project. In the thirty inscriptions which were scholarly read by Stalwarts like Bühler and Burgess I have made a few additions. Of nineteen inscriptions which were not previously read I tried to read them but the inscriptions are in mutilated condition. Some letters which were copied by West are not now in existence. The torrential rains of Monsoon had washed away the letters and the decaying condition of stone had damaged the letters. I made efforts to read those inscriptions. Out of nineteen I could read eighteen inscriptions. I have experienced what West had observed hundred and twentyfive years ago. Most of the inscriptions were inscribed into rough and decaying rock-surface covered with natural markings which were mingled with letters, with the result that careful ink-impressions were practically illegible. In many cases the letters were so faint that it was difficult to photograph them. Impressions of those inscriptions would be of no use. Sometimes the letters could be deciphered by touching them. I spent many days alongwith the photographers to catch the suitable light for taking good photographs of inscriptions. In cave No. 75 and 101 I spent hours and hours standing on a ladder touching the letters then only I could read major parts of those inscriptions.


ANCIENT CAVES
IN
WESTERN INDIA
0 16 32 48 MILES
0 16 32 48 64 80 KM.
INDEX
BUDDIST CAVES
JAINA CAVES
BRAHMANICAL CAVES
ANCIENT PLACES
DISTRICT PLACES
BHARUKACHHA
BHAMER
JALGAON
DHULE
RUDRESHWAR
AJANTA
GHATOTKACHA
PATAN
PITALKHORA
BHOKARDHAN
ANKAI-TANKAI
KANNAD
CHAMBHAR-LENA
GOVARDHAN
NASIK
PANDAV-LENA
ELLORA
AURANGABAD
THALGHAT
SAFALE
SOPARA
PAITHAN
HARICHANDRAGADH
LONAD
MAGTHAN
KANHERI
MANDAPESHWAR
JOGESHWARI
KALYAN
NANEGHAT
POLU-SONAVALA
JUNNAR
KONDIWATE
PARBHANI
NANDED
AHMADNAGAR
BOMBAY
ELEPHANTA
BHIMASHANKAR
DHOKESHWAR
HAL
KONDANE
KARLE
PALE
BHAMCHANDAR
VISAPUR
SHELARWADI
BHAJE
PATAN
BEDSA
AMBIVALI
TIKONA
AMBEJOGAI
CHOUL
NADSUR
NENAWALI
BHAMBURDA
PUNE
TER
DHARASIVA
KARUSHA
KUDA
SHIRVAL
MAHAD
KOL
WAI
SHOLAPUR
SATARA
KHED
PANHALA KAZI
CHIPLUN
KARAD
JAKHINWADI
KAMALBAHIRI
KUNDAL
RATNAGIRI
SANGLI
POWALA
KOLHAPUR
AIHOLE
BADAMI
BELGAUM
PRK


GENERAL PLAN OF KANHERI CAVES
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On the basis of the epitaphs which have been discovered in the valley in front of the Burial gallery[21] (NirvāṇaVīthi). I could convincingly establish that Kanheri was a great Buddhist educational centre in Western India supported by monks and traders.

So far as the palaeography of Kanheri is concerned it is observed that Kanheri has preserved the records representing different dynasties which controlled it from time to time. The palaeographical chronometer does not help to pinpoint the exact date but it definitely speaks of its period. While studying palaeographical features one has to take into consideration the material on which the inscription is written, local schools of writing and individual mannerism of scribes. While studying the palaeographical features of Kanheri inscriptions I have tried to give full justice to these aspets. Palaeographical records of Kanheri remarkably represent different dynastic periods.

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2. Political Backdrop

A clear archaeological evidence of the Mauryan rule over Western India is from Sopara 65 Km north of Bombay. The fragments of Aśoka's eighth[1] and ninth[2] rock-edicts were found in the vicinity of Sopara and the fifth[3] rock edict of Girnar mentions *'Aparāta'* in which Sopara might be an important administrative centre. The Sopārakāhāra as an administrative unit occurs in the inscription on the pillar of the Chaitya at Kanheri. But none of the Kanheri inscriptions shows any sign of being as old as the time of Aśoka.

Second century A.D. reaped the fruit of the discovery of Hippalus of the periodicity of the Monsoon. It produced a revolution not only in navigational practices of Western India but also in other branches of culture.

Kanheri lies in beautiful natural surroundings apt for meditative life of monks. (Plate no. 1,2,10) It is not far from the ancient ports like Kalyan, Sopara and Chaul. It was well connected with inland market-towns like Nasik, Ter and Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital city of the Sātavāhanas. Kanheri which occupied the ideal geographic position was established as an important religious centre by monks for the propagation of Buddhist religion.

Kanheri came into limelight in the Sātavāhana period i.e. early part of 1st century A.D. The sātavāhana rulers became predominant in trans-vindhyan India after the fall of the Mauryan monarchy. The members of this family who styled themselves as the lord of *'Dakshiṇāpatha'* ruled from the 1st quarter of the 1st century B.C. down to the 1st quarter of the 3rd century A.D. There are three theories of chronological sequence proposed for the sātavāhana age.

1) The foundation[4] of the sātavāhana kingdom by simuka in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. - Nanaghat inscription, 212-195 B.C., Gautamīputra - A.D. 72-95, Puḷumāvi between A.D. 96-119.

2) Another view places simuka[5] in 30 B.C. and arranges the data for others accordingly.

3) The third view places[6] the establishment of the sātavāhana dynasty around 120-110 B.C.

For this work the second theory of the sātavāhana chronology has been accepted.

The Nasik[7] cave inscription records that Gautamiputra sātakarṇi uprooted the kṣaharāta race and restored the glory of the sātavāhana dynasty. But the sātavāhana occupation of Aparānta before the śaka conquest in Western India is referred to in the Periplus. It mentions, "The market towns[8] of this region are in order after Berigaza, Supara, and the city of Kalliena became lawful market towns in the time of the elder Saraganus i.e. Sātakarni". Kalyan lies in a strategic

position to dominate the trade routes between the coast and plateau. The inscription in cave No. 2 records the meritorious gift of Nākaṇaka who hailed from Nasik. The inscription suggests an uninterrrupted access from Nasik to Kanheri and the Sātavāhana occupation from the coast to plateau before the Kṣaharāta occupation. The inscription is written in the early Sātavāhana pen style. There is no epigraphical evidence of the Kṣaharāta interlude at Kanheri. But the sātavāhana rule was interrrupted by the conquest of the kṣatrapa ruler Rudradāman. The famous Junagadh[9] inscription of Rudradāman records that he twice defeated Sātakarṇi, lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha whom he did not extirpate owing to the close relationship. This close relationship is recorded at Kanheri in the inscription in cave no. 5. This inscription refers to vāsisthiputra Sātakarni the younger brother of Vaśisṭhiputra Puḷumāvi and the son of Gautamiputra, the husband of a daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra (dāman), Vāsisthiputra Sātakarṇi might have been the Viceroy of his father-in-law in Aparānta. As mentioned earlier the name kaṇhagiri occurs in the Nasik inscription. It is well-known that the matrimonial relations between the Kṣatrapas and the Sātavāhanas promoted the cultural relations and they are reflected in various branches such as the sātavāhana coinage and the script. One of the inscriptions of Kanheri offers a new facet of cultural relations between the Kasatrapas and the Sātavāhanas. The inscription is written on a foundation stone of the dam which records the consturction[10] of a lake. Below this big slab there are remains of ancient wall and the inscription provides the earliest evidence of the dam construction in Western India.

The Buddhist activity was dynamically sustained during the time of Vāsisṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, is well evident in the inscriptions at Kanheri. During the reign of the king Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī, Kanheri was a flourishing Buddhist centre. The Chaitya was built during the reign of this sovereign. The inscriptions on the two pillars at the entrance of the Chaitya have recorded the entire history of the Chaitya construction. Pandit Bhagawanlal[11] Indraji has written a graphic description of the contents which were revealed from the stupa at Sopara. Among the gold flowers a silver portrait coin of Gautamiputra Yajñaśri was found. This offers an authentic evidence of his zealous activities on the coastal region. During the Sātavāhana period Mahārathis and Mahābhojıs played a prominent role in the political field. The Inscription in cave no. 98 records the donation of Dāmilā, Bhojiki of Aparānta. The inscription in cave no. 59 records the donation of Nāgamulanikā, the daughter of Mahābhoji and the wife of Mahārathi. Except these scanty references, the Kanheri inscriptions have not recorded any substantial information to formulate any clear picture of the administrative organisation of the Sātavāhana kingdom.

After the Sātavāhanas the Ābhiras successfully occupied the Nasik and Kanheri regions. On the basis of inscriptional and Puraṇic evidence it appears that the Ābhiras became predominant in the middle of third century A.D. The Purāṇas[12] refer to ten Ābhira kings who ruled for sixty-seven years. The inscription of Iśvarasena at Nasik suggests his political influence over the Nasik region. He is considered as the founder[13] of the Kalachuri era (A.D. 248.)

There are two inscriptions of Māḍhariputra Sakasena at Kanheri. The inscription in cave No. 74 refers to the 8th regnal year and the other inscription in the same cave though mutilated has retained the same Māḍhariputra Sakasena. Bhagawanlal Indraji[14] took Madhariputra as the member of the Sātavāhana family. He considered Māḍhariputra as the successor or son of Vāsisṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, while naming the future kings. The Bhagavat Purāṇa mentions three names – Gautamiputra, Purimata and Medhāśiva. Bhagawanlal Indraji look the name Medhāśiva as the corruption of Māḍhariputra and Sivasrī which occurs in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and Matsya Purāṇa from Sirisena. Gokhale[15] took him as a Ābhira king.

He is sometimes identified with the issuer of certain coins discovered in the Kṛṣṇā and Godavari districts, whose name has been doubtfully read as Sakasena. Some coins of the king Saka Sātakarṇi are known from the Tarhala[14] hoard. But on the basis of these two Kanheri inscriptions it is rather difficult to establish Māḍhariputra's relationship either with the Sātavāhanas or with the Ābhiras.

The Traikūṭakas were the successors of the Ābhiras. The Traikūṭakas used the era initiated by the Ābhiras. Sircar is of the opinion that the Traikūṭakas[17] were a viceregal family of the Ābhira origin who ruled over parts of Aparānta as subordinates of the Ābhira kings and later on became the guardians of Aparānta's stability and prosperity. The two illustrious kings of the house, Dahrasena and Vyāghrasena who had their own coinage were the rulers of Aparānta. The Traikūṭaka[18] copperplate which was found at Kanheri dated in K.245 + 248 = 494/95 A.D. does not mention any name of the ruling king. The copperplate records the construction of a Chaitya by Buddharuchi, a resident of the village Kāṇaka in the Sindhu Viṣaya. It further suggests disturbed political environ in Aparanta. Western India had cultural relations with Sindh is well evident in this copper-plate. Marilyn[19] Leese is of the opinion that the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghransena was

ruling over Aparanta even if the Traikūṭaka plate does not mention the name of the ruling king.

But it may be noted that there were different methods for establishing suzerainty over different regions in ancient times which are recorded in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta[20]. The acts of respectful services of feudatories included presents of coins, maidens, etc. The feudatories enjoyed their own territories soliciting the commands of the sovereigns. The feudatories were allowed to grant donations. Likewise the Traikūṭakas who had accepted the suzerainty of the vākāṭakas were allowed to rule over Aparānta as they were controlling the sea-trade of the coastal region.

So far, the kanheri plate was considered as the last known evidence of the Traikūṭaka house. But the discovery of the copper-plates of the Traikūṭaka [21] king Madhyamasena dated in K.256 = 505/506 A.D. have removed the enigmatic phase in the history of the Traikūṭakas. The copper plates were found at Matvan in the Ratnagiri district. Madhyamasena's copper-plates follow the form of the inscriptions of Vyāghrasena. The inscription does not mention the relationship of Madhyamasena and Vyāghrasena but Madhyamasena might be the successor of Vyāghrasena. Madhyamasena issued the copper plates from the victorious Aniruddhapura and claimed to be the Lord of Aparānta. He donated a village Maṇḍikalani in the Tālikaahāra to a Brahmaṇa named Śivasvāmi of the Kauṇḍiṇya gotra. Tālikaṭāhara is no other than Thalghat which enjoyed strategic position and commanded full control over the passes coming from sopara, Nasik and Nanaghat. Maṇḍikalani might be a small village Manivali 8.5 km. west of Murbad, Thana district. Madhyamasena issued these plates eleven years after the Kanheri plate dated K.245 = 494/495 A.D. and established his control over Thalghat.

Another set of copper plates issued by the Traikūaka[22] king Vikramasena dated in the year K.284 = 533-34 A.D. He granted a village Pañchāmalaka situated in the Pharaṭaṭikā in the Agrahāra of Mahākaṭāhāra. The donee Brahmaṇa Śivasvāmī hailed from Kallivana which is no other than Kalvan, the chief town of the Kalvan taluka; Nasik district. The place Kallivan is mentioned in the Abhona[23] plates of the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa. The Traikūṭaka ruler Vikramasena issued the copper plates from Victorious Aniruddhapura of the Kaṭachuris. It definitely indicates that the Kalachuris were holding complete sway over Aniruddhapura. It is noteworthy that his predecessor Madhyamasena granted a village in Thalghat. Vikramasena having lost control over this region was allowed to grant a village in Mahākaṭāhāra i.e. Mahad-Raigad district far south of Aniruddhapura. The Kalachuris pushed Vikramasena to the south and allowed him to grant village within his territory.

The copper plates of Madhyamasena and Vikramsena are very important from the point of view of the then political atmosphere at Kanheri. The absence of the name of the king in the Kanheri plate K. 245 = 494-495 A.D. suggests political disturbance. The Matvan plates were issued eleven years after the Kanheri plate. In the inscription in cave No. 16 at Ajanta, the Vākāṭaka King Hariṣeṇa is credited with the victory over Trikūṭa. But so far the name of the king whom Hariṣeṇa defeated was not known. A logical synchronism may be established in all these events. The Traikūṭaka king who received a blow at the hands of Hariseṇa might be either Vyāghrasena or Madhyamesena but the Matvan plates of Madhyamasena suggest that the power of the Traikūṭakas was temporarily eclipsed by Hariṣeṇa but was restored by Madhyamasena in 505/506 A.D. There is no direct inscriptional evidence to establish the Vākāṭaka rule over Kanheri. But the imprints of the Vākāṭaka culture are pulsating in the inscriptions of Kanheri. The three inscriptions in cave No. 3 are in Sanskrit. They are written in nail-headed and box-headed variety of Brāhmī. One inscription in cave No. 3 records the donation by Buddhaghoṣa who was the *Mahāgandhakuṭivārika.* The reference ot *Mahāgandhakuṭi* clearly indicates that it was no other than the *Gandhakuṭi* of Ajanta. The ephitaphs of Buddhist teachers at Kanheri discovered in the valley in front of the burial gallery are written either in nail-headed or box-headed variety of Brāhmī. Unless there was royal patronage there could not be safe communication between Ajanta and Kanheri. The Vakāṭaka phase of course was very short and hence there are no royal records at Kanheri. Another important point which could be taken into consideration is the verse No. 18 in the inscription[24] of Varāhadeva in cave No. 16 at Ajanta. The verse describes the names of countries conquered by Hariṣeṇa. The verse is in *Vaṁśastha* metre.

Sa Kunta/Lāvanti/Kaliṅga/kosala
Trikūṭa/Lāṭāndhra/Parānta/Jānimā/n/

After the letters *'Lāṭāndhra'* the inscription is completely damaged. But the letters could be restored on the basis of the essentials of the *'Vaṁśastha'* metre. For the sake of metre the poet must have used the word *'Parānta'* instead of *'Aparānta'* which carries the same meaning in Sanskrit. This is the authentic epigraphic evidence of the victory of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa over Aparānta. The Traikūṭakas who had their own

coinage were controlling the coastal trade. Under the overlordship of the victorious Vākāṭaka king Harisena, the Traikūṭakas were augmenting their kingdom and thus the absence of the name of the ruling king in the copper-plate at Kanheri may be justified. The Vākāṭaka phase was temporary and there was revival of the Traikūtaka power in 505/506 A.D. is proved by the Matvan plates of Madhyamasena. In 533/534 A.D. during the regime of Vikramasena the prosperity of the Traikūṭakas was eclipsed by the Kalachuris. The Kalachuris were menaced by the Huṇa invasion and the political environ of north India was completely disturbed.

After the break up of the Gupta empire, North India presented a picture of political disintegration. Yaśodharman extirpated the Huna[25] invasion. In the Deccan too, numerous ruling families flourished in different parts till the rise of the mighty Chālukyas of Badami. Aparānta which was controlled by the Traikūṭakas was captured by the Mauryas. This political instability affected the inscriptional activity at kanheri.

The Aihole inscription[26] describes the Badami Chālukya king Kirtivarman as the night of destruction to the mauryas. They were not completely defeated by Kirtivarmaṇ I., Pulakesi II who claims to be the Lord of *'Trimahārashṭra'* overwhelmed the Mauryas.

The powerful Chālukyas menaced the Kalachuris. In the Mahakuta[27] inscription the Chālukya king Mangaleśa claims to have put to flight, Buddharāja the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa and to have appropriated the royal fortunes of the Kalachuris. But the Vadner[28] grant indicates the Kalachuri occupation of the Nasik region by Buddharāja again. Pulakeśi II, captured[29] the region around the Nasik periphery by about (Ś.552-630-31 A.D.) middle of 7th century. He granted a village Lohanagara which is modern Lohaner in the Baglan Taluq in Nasik district. It may therefore be presumed, that he must have occupied the intervening Aparanta region also.

The Sino-Indian relationship is another important factor in the history of Kanheri.[30] While discussing A colossal *Eleven-faced Kuan-yin of the Tiang* Dynasty Sherman[31] Lee and Wai-Kam Ho have remarked "the cannonical works or copies of icons imported from India seem to have been the only logical means by which the Chinese were introduced to this deity". They have further pointed out that the earliest and the only existing representation of the Eleven-headed one in India is from Kanheri. The earliest complete iconographic description of the Eleven-faced Kuan-yin occurs in a Sanskrit Sutra translated into Chinese by Yaśogupta in 561-577 A.D. i.e. *Avalokiteśvara Ekādasha Dhāraṇi.* A condensed version from the same Sanskrit origin was translated by Atigupta in 653 A.D. i.e. *Ekādashamukhardhimantra- hṛdaya Sutra.* The third was made only two years later by the great Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang.

After the Chālukyas the Rāṣṭrakutas became the paramount rulers of the Deccan. Under the overlordship of the illustrious Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I, cultural activities were resumed vigorously at Kanheri. There are three[33] Nagari inscriptions at Kanheri. One refers to the reign of the illustrious Śilāhāra king Pullaśakti who mediated on the feet of the illustrious Kapardin, the Mahāsāmanta and the lord of Konkan. It is dated in Ś 765 = 843-44 A.D. The inscription records the grants of money for the worship of the Buddha, the repairs of Vihara, the clothings of monks and the purchase of books at Kṛṣṇagiri. The other two inscriptions are of the śilāhāra king Kapardin II. The inscription dated in Ś 775-853-54 A.D. refers to the reign of *Parmabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Amoghavarṣa* I, who is described as meditating on the feet of Paramabhaṭṭāraka – Mahārajādhirāja Jagattuṅga i.e. Govinda III. The inscription records the donation of Gomin Avighnākara who hailed from Gaudadesha – Bengal. Avighnākara made a permanent endowment of one hundred drammas for the construction of the meditation room and clothings of monks. After twentyfour years during the reign of Kapardin II a person named Vevā made a perpetual donation of hundred drammas to the Venerable community for a meditation room and clothings. The mention of the donation of Avighnākara of Gaudadesh suggests the cultural relations between Bengal and Western India. These cultural relations might have developed during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III. The Nesari plates of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa[34] king Govinda III (Ś 727-805 A.D.) record that the illustrious Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III snatched away the royal banner of the Pāla monarch Dharmmapāla which bore the effigy of Bhagavatī Tārā. On the basis of this evidence it may be surmised that the Vajrayāna cult at Kanheri became popular during the Rāstrakūṭa period. The reference to the donation of one dramma for the purchase of books in the inscription dated Ś 765 = 843-44 A.D. delineates the educational tradition at Kanheri. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereign Amaghavarṣa was a liberal patron of literature and his court was adorned by a number famous Brahmin and Jain writers. At Kanheri Buddhism enjoyed his patronage and thus the Kanheri inscriptions have preserved one more facet of the ecclectic policy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I.

After the śilāhāra period there are no royal

inscriptions, at Kanheri. It may be noted that the remarkable cultural activity at Kanheri was sustained through the dynasties of the Sātavahanas, Traikūṭakas, Vākāṭakas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The monarchs of these ruling dynasties were followers of Brahmanism, but they followed the ecclectic policy which was initiated by the great Mauryan king Aśoka. There are three Pahlavi[35] inscriptions in cave No. 90 consist chiefly the names of certain Parsis who visited the Kanheri caves in the early decade of the 11th century A.D.

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3. Socio-Economic Environs

The socio-economic milieu that emerges from the Kanheri epigraphic material no doubt reveals certain meaningful facets of Indian Society. The literary works like *'Gathāsattasai'*, early Brahmanical literature and Buddhist literature provide supportive evidence to the epigraphic records. The inscriptions made references to certain castes, gotras, communities and families in relation to donations and thus indicate a well-knit society.

Gotra denotes the ancestral family from which its members traced their descent. Agrawala[1] has pointed out the practical value of Gotra names. "The gotra name in ancient times was of great importance to determine the true position of an individual in the democratic social assemblies." He further interpreted the political character of the gotras and mentioned that the descendants of Sāvitri and Satyavān multiplied so many families, whose clan developed into Sāvitri-putra Saṅgha of the Punjab. This spirit to follow the saṅgha model was prevalent in the Punjab. in Pāṇini's time. So far there is no evidence of such Sanghas in the south. If their feasibility is admitted then it may be interpreted that the Sātavāhana rulers had matrimonial alliance with Gautama and Vāsiṣṭha clans. The great Sātvāhana queen was named as Gautamī. It indicates her gotra and probably her clan. Kanheri inscriptions have recorded Vāsistha and Gautama Gotras.

Although the victorious Sātavahana ruler Gautamiputra calls himself 'Ekabahmaṇa'[2] in the Nasik inscription. Kanheri inscriptions have not recorded any name of a brahmin donor.

The joint family system characterised the society and Kanheri inscriptions have drawn an ideal picture of a joint family. Conjugal fidelity and ideal relationship between husband and wife were the distinguishing features of the Indian Society. The words Gahapati, Ghariṇi and Kuṭubini indicate their importance in the family organization. The inscription on the gate-post of cave No.3 records that the two brothers Gajasena and Gajamita excavated the Chaitya hall in honour of their deceased parents, their wives, their sons, daughters, step-mothers, sisters' sons and multitude of blood-relations. This is the unique inscription which has recorded the excavators' deep concern for the happiness of the family members and blood relatives. The inscription in cave No. 50 records that a person, whose name unfortunately is effaced, donated a cave, a water cistern in the honour of his mother Nandanikā. The merit gained thereby was shared by his sons, nephew,daughters, grandsons, great-grand-daughters great-grandsons, daughters-in-law and his whole family, the deceased, the living and unborn and all living beings. The inscription has drawn not only an ideal picture of conjugal faith and love among the members of family prevailing in that period but has recorded the

family rhythum in the society.

Three inscriptions at Kanheri furnish us with the family of Rohiṇimita from Chaula.

Rohiṇimita — Sulasadata — donated a cistern
sons — Dhamaṇaka — donated a path
wife — Sivapalitanikā — donated a stupa

The family members of Rohiṇimita donated three different meritorious gifts to the Buddhist congregation. Another record mentions the involvement of the entire family in the religious activity. The inscription in cave No. 21 has recorded a donation of a cave and a hall on the mountain Kaṇhasela for the community of ascetics from the four quarters.

Añanda → son Apareṇuka → son → Ananda
wife — wife
Juvāriṇikā — Dhāmadevi

The upāsaka Apareṇuka appears to have named his son after his father's name. This custom was practised by the royal families in the later period also. The śilāhāra king Pullaśakti named his son after his father thus the following names occur in the inscriptions.

Kapardin ⟶ son Pullaśakti ⟶ son Kapardin II

The list of proper names occur in the inscriptions is given in the Appendix. But some important names are classified as follows :

Names after Buddha

Buddaghoṣa ... teacher
Budhaka ... donor
Buddharakhita ... donor

Names after Dharma

Dhama ... negama
Dhāmadevi ... housewife
Dhamapāla ... overseer
(Bhadanta)
Dhamapāla ... thera Bhadanta
Dhamaṇaka ... donor
Dharmmagupta ... donor
Dharmavatsa ... teacherof Tripiṭaka

Names after Saṅgha

Saṅghananda ... arhat, vasī
Sanghadevanikā ... daughter of Āryaghoṣa

Names after Śiva

Sivamita
Sulasadata

Names after Viṣṇu

Veṇhunandi
Kṛṣṇa

Names after Nāga

Nāgamulanikā ... donor
Nākaṇaka ... donor
Nāgapātita treasurer
Sāpā pavaitikā

Names after Skanda

Khandarakhi
Khandanāgasataka

Names after Constellation

Punavasu
Pusamita
Rohiṇimita

Name after Tribe

Muḍapāla

Names after Place – names

Juvāriṇikā
Lavanikā

Brāhmanical names

Bhānu
Bhāskara
Bhāravi
Boppai
Suvai

Name of a physician

Naṇṇa Vaidya

Names of Buddhist teachers

Achariya Thera Bhadanta seümla
Thera Bhadanta Bodhika
Thera Bhadanta Ghoṣa
Thera Bhadanta Hālaka
Traipiṭakopādhyāya - Dharmavatsa

The analysis of the personal names indicates that people from different sectors of society participated in the cultural activity at Kanheri.

The high status of women in the Sātavāhana society has been clearly indicated by the metronymics Gautamī and Vāsiṣṭhi. The same practice was adopted by the

Ābhīras and thus two Kanheri inscriptions have recorded the name Māḍhariputra Svāmi Sakasena. Diligent application of metronymic indicates the influence of matriarchal society.

The women who entered the monastic life enjoyed the privilege of studying under learned senior monks. Theri Pavaitikā Poṇakisaṇā was a pupil of Thera Bhayanta Ghoṣa Pavaitikā sāpā was Atevāsini of Thera Bhadanta Bodhika.

Women of higher status were enjoying religious freedom. Bhoigi Dāmilā of Aparānta embressed the life of a nun.

Date	Name	Designation	gift
150 A.D.	Sivapalitanikā	wife of Dhamaṇaka	stupa
150 A.D.	Ru-	wife of Vāsiṣthiputra Sātakarṇi	water cistern
150-200 A.D.	Dāmilā	Bhikṣunī	cave, cistern
150-200 A.D.	Sāpā	Pavayitikā	cave
150-200 A.D.	Ratinikā	sister of Sāpā	cave
150-200 A.D.	Nāgamulanikā	daughter of Mahārathi	cave
150-200 A.D.	Poṇakisaṇā	theri	cave, cistern
150-200 A.D.	Juvāriṇikā	wife of Apareṇuka	cave and room
150-200 A.D.	Dhāmadevi	wife of Ānanda	cave and room
300 A.D.	Lavaṇikā	wife of Achala	cave, cistern, bathing tank

Out of the women donors at Kanheri there were four housewives. They had the privilege of giving religious gifts. They are as follows :-

Economic Conditions

2nd century A.D. was the period of remarkable progress in trade and industry. This was the time when western coast witnessed the growth of brisk foreign trade with the Roman empire. Sopara, Kalyan and Chaul were the flourishing ports. The traders from these places made munificent grants to the Buddhist establishment of Kanheri.

The Buddhist fraternity at Kanheri was mainly supported by traders but still people from different sectors of society supported the daily needs of Bhikṣus such as food, clothes, dwelling-caves etc. One inscription records that Muṇḍapāla made a donation of a field but it does not mention any cultivation of crops or its measurement. Another inscription mentions the gift of a field of the half 'Paṇa' ownership in the village Magalaṭhāna, Inscription in cave no. 73 has recorded a gift of field at Saphau (modern Saphale near Virar). But the inscriptions do not mention land measurements.

There are many references of permanent deposits of Kārṣāpaṇas handed over to Saṅgha for the welfare of fratrenity. There is not a single reference to a guild in Kanheri inscriptions.

The other currency mentioned in inscriptions is dramma. Two silāhāra inscriptions mention the donation of drammas. The inscription dated S 765 = 843/44 A.D. records the donation of 20 drammas for the worship of the Buddha by Viṣnugupta. Another inscription dated Ś 775 = 853/54 A.D. mentions the doṇation of hundred drammas. The third śilāhāra inscription Ś 799 = 877/78 A.D. also records the permanent donation of hundred drammas to build a room for meditation, and a dramma for the purchase of books.

The Kanheri inscriptions have recorded three different mercantile professions : 1) Seṭhi, 2) Negama 3) Vānija. Seṭhi was a wealthy merchant. The famous Seṭhi named Puṇaka from Sopara built a dam at Kanheri. Seṭhi Pusamita made a meritorious donation of a cave. A negama was a merchant who operated in marketing towns. The market towns which are mentioned in inscriptions are Chaula, Kalyan, Nasik and Sopara. Apart from the market twons, there is a mention of a ward in Kalyan named 'Gandhārikā-Bhami' which suggests the colony of people from Gāndhāra. Gautamiputra Yajñasrī Sātakarṇi was an able and ambitious ruler of the house who defeated śaka kṣatrapa Jīvadāman and his uncle, Rudrasimha. He was the king who brought Surashtra and Aparānta under his control. The Purāṇas assign Yajñasrī a long reign. The China[3] inscription of Yajñasrī is recorded in the 27th year of his reign. The Purānic as well as epigraphic evidence is well corroborated with the numismatic evidence. A terracotta[4] mould from Paithan displays the young portrait of Yajñasrī with Kākapakṣa hair style and the old Yajñasrī with frizzled hair style. The king Yajñasrī issued lead coins with Indian ship having

double masts. There is another one in the British museum. It displays five ships, three with double masts. It may also be noted that Roman ships appear on the coins of the Roman emperor Hadrian and on the bronze medallians of the emperor Commodus. The Sātavāhana mint-masters depicted the ship-device indicating the brisk maritime activities during the reign of Yajñasrī[5] . The periplus of Erythrean sea has recorded that the Romans anchored their ships loaded with amphorae filled with wines, metals like silver, lead in the ports of Kalyan, Sopara and Barygaza. These commercial Roman contacts made a great impact on various branches of Indian culture including the numismatic field. The sātavāhana mint-masters depicted the device to indicate brisk maritime activities during the reign of Yajñàsrī.

The Periplus[6] of the Erythrean sea gives us interesting information of the trading centres of the coastal region. It mentions that beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from North to South and so this region is called 'Dachinabades'. The market towns of this region are in order after Barygaza Suppara (Sopara) and the city of Calliena (Kalyan) which in the time of elder Saragunas (Sātakarṇi) became a lawful market town. Beyond Calliana there is other market town of this region - samylla-chaul. There are at least ten donors from Kalyan who made donations of caves, water cisterns, bathing tanks. The two Vāṇijakas Gajasena and Gajamita started the construction work of the Chaitya at Kanheri. A heraṇika family of Chaula is referred to in the three inscriptions. Heraṇika was a royal treasurer. The father Rohiṇimitra was heraṇika. His son Sulasadata made a donation of a water cistern. The other son Dhamaṇaka made a donation of a path. The daughter-in-law Sivapalitanikā, the wife of Dhamaṇaka made a donation of a Stupa. A goldsmith from Kalyan named Sāmidata made a donation of a cistern. A jeweller (Maṇikāra) Nāgapālita from Sopara made a donation of a cave. A female ascetic sāpā inhabitant of Dhenukākaṭa made a meritotious gift of a cave and water-cistern for the community of 'Aparaseliyas'.

A path was donated by Nanda a blacksmith from Kalyan. In the inscription which records the construction of the Chaitya, interesting professions are mentioned such as Navakarmisa leader of workmen Uparakhita - Supervisor. Sealvaḍhaki - stone mason. Miṭhika - polisher. Although there are references to diverse professions, there is a complete absence of the name of any guild. There are more than seventyfive inscriptions but nowhere the name of the writer is mentioned.

The donations came from the lay society to accumulate merits for oneself as well as for one's relatives. The 'Akṣayanivi's at Kanheri have a perpetual flow of capital. Business people of aristocratic lineage such as goldsmith, jewellers, traders, merchants provided permanent endowments to meet the daily needs of monks such as caves, water cisterns, clothing, food and sandles. Gokhale[7] has suggested that each establishment had a distinctive identity of its own based either upon its location or its sectarian name. Thus we have Kanheri as the designation for its fraternity at Kanheri.' – i.e. Kaṇhasela.

The inscriptions at Kanheri have revealed a very simple picture of socio-economic life. People of diverse occupations made donations such as caves, cells, water cisterns, paths, land to accrue the religious merit for them and their family members and for the welfare of all living beings. It indicates a great attachment of people to religion. For the attainment of spiritual blessings and happiness, donors made various types of gifts. In the Mahāyāna period the Buddhist teachers donated images of the Buddha and other sculptures. The śilāhāra inscriptions specifically mention the donation for the room for meditation.

The inscriptions have recorded the donations made by Gahapati, upasakas (layman); ghariṇis (housewives). People from all walks of life participated in the the religious activity at Kanheri. From the inscriptions it appears that besides monks and nuns, kings, Bhoigi, minister, physician, treasurer, jeweller, goldsmiths, blacksmith made generous donations to accumulate religious merit. There is complete absence of any foreign donor at Kanheri.

Architectural Terminologies :

The large establishment of hundred and four caves at Kanheri helps us to know the technical achievements and aesthetic perception of Buddhist monks who came from all the four directions. Some monks spent four months of rainy season (Vassāvāsa) at Kanheri.

The Kanheri monastic settlement pattern has its own identity. The chaitya construction which was started by Gajasena and Gajamita was completed by Ānandaputa Apareṇuka whose entire family was involved in the prolific architectural activity at Kanheri.

The elaborate water system proves the unique engineering skill of monks. Seṭhi Puṇaka from Sopara constructed a dam over the catchment area at Kanheri. The inscription has preserved the earliest evidence of dam construction in Maharashtra. The water channels have been excavated from the top of the hill to collect water in various cisterns named as *Podhi,*

Pāniyabhājana. Water was collected for bath also and was named as *'Nāṇha Podhi.'*

The Kanheri caves were frequently visited by traders and monks coming from all directions. One inscription in cave No.2 has recorded the donation of a refectory by Nākaṇaka from Nasik.

There were at least ten donors from Kalyan. The business people of aristocratic lineage of Kalyan might have established *'Ambālikā Vihāra'* as a prominent centre of religion as well as trade activities. There was Upathāṇasālā for religious discourses. In the monestery at Kalyan in Gandhārikābhami – a house with two apartments (bigabham) and a quadrangular dining hall (Bhojanachatu-sālā) was constructed. Kalyan was a prosperous port which was humming with foreign trade transactions and therefore there might be a small sector of the people coming from *Gāndhara.*

The Buddhist stupas were erected at different places over the bodily remains of the Buddha but soon the practice came to be adopted in the case of some of his outstanding followers such as Sāriputra, Maudgalāyana'.

The Traikūṭaka plate dated K.245= 494/495 A.D. records that Buddharuchi the son of Buddhaśrī and Puṣyavarman who hailed from the village Kāṇaka in the Sindhu Viṣaya, constructed the chaitya, which he dedicated to the venerable śāradvatiputra, the foremost disciple of the Buddha. In the cemetary brick-stupas were erected in the memory of great teachers. In early period it was considered as an act of merit. In cave No.4 a stupa was erected in the memory of Thera bhadanta Dhammapāla by Sivapalitanikā.

The residential apartments are mentioned as Leṇa Ovaraka, and Koḍhi. Ovaraka is a verandah. In Marathi the word 'Oari' is still in use. Koḍhi was a room. *'Kuṭi'* was used as a meditation room. Sometimes the leṇa was equipped with Maṇḍapa. (Projection) and a lattice window (Pavāḍa), Āsanapeḍhikā (bench). Most of the caves at Kanheri are joined by steps. There is a stepped path-way upto the cemetary. Three inscriptions have registered the donation of pathway (Patha). One inscription in cave No.32 has recored the donation of 'Chaṅkama'. The word *'Chaṅkama'* has a significant meaning : It is the paved walkway for meditational purpose. the inscription in cave No.99 records the name of the cave as 'Sāgarapalogana' from where the monk Mitabhuti could see the spectacular view of the sea. In Buddhist cave inscriptions we have come across the names of vihāras such as Jetavaṅa, Ghoṣitārāma but the name 'sāgarapalogana' of a cave suggests the aesthetic sense of the monk.

The Kanheri inscriptions have thus preserved the above mentioned architectural terminologies. They have restored the authentic evidence of those terminologies as well as the socio-economic enthusiasm of the period.

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4. Buddhist Religion

The eighth[1] and ninth[2] inscriptions of the great Mauryan monarch Aśoka, from Sopara bear testimony to the early existence of Buddhism in western India, but the literary evidence has precedence over this archaeological evidence. After the third council, Dhammarakhita was sent to Aparānta for the propagation of Buddhism[3]. During the reign of Aśoka, the religion spread extensively with the royal patronage and missionary efforts of monks. Gradually the western ghat seems to be studded with Chaityagṛhas, Vihāras, stupas and sculptures. Although the artizens excavated artifacts showing the richness of the religion, the inscriptions at Kanheri have recorded its simple aspects. The primary intention of the inscriptions was to record the names of the donors and the gifts donated but sometimes the inscriptions have preserved some noteworthy aspects of religion such as the praise of the Buddha, names of Buddhist sects, names of teachers who were well-versed in different branches of religious scriptures. By 5th century A.D. the literary activity shows a great advancement which is reflected in different branches of culture. The Buddhist canonical literature was grown in content and diversity. The monks who studied the scriptures, sometimes put their ideas in inscriptions or sculptures especially in the Mahāyāna period. The epitaphs in the cemetary have recorded the scholastic merits and the stage of sainthood attained by them. The representation of Avalokitaśvara saving his devotees from ten dangers in cave No. 90 has its parallel in the *'Milinda Paña,.* (Plate 4) The inscriptions have noted different donations by lay devotees, traders, housewives, to accrue the merit for all the family-members and to maintain the welfare of all living beings. Except two inscriptions on the gate posts of the chaitya which have recorded the history of the construction of the Chaitya, the other inscriptions primarily speak of the people who donated caves, stupas, steps, water-cisterns, benches etc. The donative nature of the inscriptions at Kanheri is insufficient to give a distinct picture of the religion but the large establishment of hundred and four Buddhist caves have restored the rhythum of religion. Because of the ideal geographic position, 2nd century onwards Kanheri became an important Buddhist establishment of the monks coming from all the four quarters. The religious dignity of Buddhism dominated the entire coast of Aparānta. During the time of Vassāvāsa, (four months of rainy season) the spiritual thoughts of Buddhism literally percolated into caves along with the trickling of the Monsoon.

The Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha are the three jewels of Buddhism. The inscriptions at Kanheri have recorded some aspects of these three jewels alongwith different ideologies. The Theravādins believed the Buddha as an omniscient human being who had

Plate No. 4) Avalokiteśvara with Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī saving people from ten dangers cave No. 90

Plate No. 5) Eleven faced kuan-yin from China

Plate No. 6) Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara with Amitabha Buddha cave No. 40

Plate No. 6 B) Eleven-headed Avalakiteśvara.

attained the supreme wisdom. The concept[4] of the Buddha was formed with the historical Buddha as its nucleus. The Buddha was meant as a great teacher who was respected, honoured and venerated[5]. The Mahāyānists regarded the Buddha as an eternal entity without origin and decay. With the passage of time there was a growth of mythological conceptions in the Mahāyāna pantheon. In the Mahāyāna, it has been maintained that besides the Buddha Śākyamuni a multitude[6] of the Buddhas existed. One can become the Buddha by obtaining perfect knowledge. This idea is reflected in one of the inscriptions at Kanheri which belongs to fifth century A.D. The inscription in cave No.3 records the meritorious gift of the image of the Buddha by Achārya Buddharakṣita with the hope 'May all living beings thereby become Buddhas'. The belief in many Buddhas is met with in the inscription from Nasik[7], which could be dated to 2nd century A.D. It records a gift by a yavana, Indrāgnidatta in honour of all the Buddhas. The belief in many Buddhas is attested by an epigraphic evidence in Ajanta cave No.22. The names of eight Buddhas are mentioned in order, below the eight painted figures. The order of names given in the painted inscriptions is exactly in the same order as in the texts[8]. Of these eight Buddhas the first six are the former Buddhas, the seventh is the present Buddha and the eighth is the future Buddha. Their names are Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa, Śākyamuni and Maitreya. At Kanheri in cave No.2 on the right side of the stupa, there are eight seated Buddha figures carved in equal size, including the future, Buddha Maitreya. Just below these figures, there is another panel of six seated Buddhas. Of course they represent the six former Buddhas. In cave No.3 on the outer wall there is a row of eight seated Buddhas. One sculpture of the Buddha is shown in the *Pralambapādāsana* and *Dharmachakra Mudrā*. Below this image there is an inscription which belongs to 5th century A.D. The sculptures clearly indicate the popularity of the belief in many Buddhas.

The Buddha is described by various epithets in the Buddhist literature. A very few epithets of the Buddha occur in the later inscriptions at Kanheri. *'Bhagavat'* the most popular epithet of the Buddha occurs frequently in Buddhist scriptures. But it does not occur before 5th century inscrptions at Kanheri. The inscription in cave No.3 records the meritorious gift of the image of Bhagavat by Buddhaghoṣa the guardian of the Great Gandhakuṭī. The two śilāhāra inscriptions refer to the Buddha as 'Bhagavat'. The inscription of Pullaśakti (Ś 765-843-44 A.D.) records that Viṣṇugupta made a meritorious gift of 20 drammas for the worship of 'Bhagavat'. According to Buddhaghoṣa[9] 'Bhagavat' is a term signifying veneration. It is not a name given by anybody but is derived from his final liberation. This epithet is repeatedly mentioned in *Mahāyānasutra'*[10].

The Traikūṭaka plate dated in K.245=494/95 A.D. addresses the Buddha as 'Śākyamuni', 'Paramamuni', 'Sugata' and Sarvajña. The copper plate has noted a significant epithet of the Buddha viz. 'Daśabali'.

The inscriptions at Kanheri are silent about Bodhisatva but there are litany scenes of Avalokiteśvara rescuing his devotees in cave Nos.2, 41 and 90. He is depicted as saving people from eight or ten dangers such as elephant, lion, cobra, fire, etc. The ten dangers have been described in *'MilindaPaña*[11] The *Mahāvastu*[12] reveals that Bodhisattva is equal to the Buddha from the eighth Bhūmi. In the *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sutra*[13] it is mentioned that the devotees will not suffer from calamity, if they practice meditation on Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The ethical ideal of the Mahāyāna is the Bodhisatva. It is distinct from the Arhat of the Hinayāna.

The unique eleven-headed image of Avalokiteśvara is in cave No.41. It is located in a niche to the right of the entrance of the cave. It is in high relief, stands beside Amitābha, who is seated in Padmāsana pose. The measurements of eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara are as follows :

height	145 cm.
breadth	37 cm.
height of eleven heads	32 cm.
breadth of eleven heads	21 cm.
each individual head	8 × 8 cm.

Instead of one image of the Buddha which is usually found in the tapering head-dress of Avalokiteśvara, ten additional faces in three tiers are piled over the head and the image is having four hands. Each of the eleven faces has a crown. Avalokiteśara holds a lotus bud with a long stalk in his left hand. Another left hand holds a bottle. It may be a replacement for *'Kamaṇḍalu'*. Right hand which is in *Abhayamudrā*- holds a rosary. There are ear-rings, neck-lace, saṅghāṭi, dhoti and ornaments around the waist. Feet are in broken condition. Generally the image is dated to 6th century A.D.

This image of eleven-headed Avalokiteśavara is the singular sculpture of its kind which shows the superb illustration of the imagination of learned Buddhist philosophers and the exquisite skill of the then artists.

In this connection the following points are noteworthy :-

1. To interpret this unique piece it is necessa

make a close study of the cultural environment of Kanheri.

2. One has to take into consideration the contemporary awe-inspiring śaivite excavations at Elephanta and the vigorous artistic developments at Jogeśvari.

3. India's cultural contacts with Central Asia and China.

In Western Indian cave sites Kanheri is the only site that illustrates a good measure of various stages negotiated in the history of political power and trade. In the 2nd century A.D. with the prosperity of trade and the patronage of the Sātavāhanas, Buddhism had its firm foundation. Recently[14] the English translation of the Tibetan text of the verses of Nāgarjuna's letter to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is published. From that letter it appears that Gautamiputra the son of queen Gautami Balaśri had great attraction for Buddhism.

About 5th century A.D. the Mahāyāna activities resumed vigorously at Kanheri. Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva of compassion was the popular subject. As Kanheri is located on both sea and inland trade-routes it served a refuge for traders as well as an abode for monks.

The scholastic activities were also growing dynamically at Kanheri. The epitaphas[15] record the names of teachers of high religious achievements. They not only throw light on ancient Buddhist monastic institutions but also give evidence for the first time of teachers' tradition in western India. This tradition continued even in the early Rāshtrakūṭa period. The Kanheri inscription of Pullaśakti[16] records, a donation to the Buddhist vihāra at Kanheri, a part of which was utilized for puchasing books. Taking into consideration this educational tradition and the advent of the Mahāyāna sect, there must be Buddhist scholars who were the authorities on the Mahāyāna texts such as *Sukhāvativyūha,*[17] *Amitāyurdhyānasutra*[18] *Daśabhumisūtra*[19] etc. The whole of *Mahāyāna sutra* is devoted to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśara who refuses to assume Buddhahood until all beings are rescued. Avalokiteśvara's one and the only task is to bring the doctrine of salvation to all beings and help sufferers. He is closely related to the Buddha Amitābha the Lord of blessed land of bliss in the west. Surprisingly the whole sculptural representation of Amitābha-Buddha and Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara is in the western corner of the cave. The subject matter of *'Daśabhumīsutra'* is a discourse on the ten steps by which Buddhahood may be attained. *Guṇakāraṇḍa*[20]vyuha describes Avalokiteśvara as *Ekadasāshīrṣa.* It may be a conversion of the eleven violent god of the Vedic age – The Ekādaśa Rudra of Brahmanism.

As suggested by Spink[21] the Śaivite caves at Jogesvari and Elephanta might have been excavated by the craftsmen trained during the Vākāṭaka regime. The eight-headed Śiva image from Parel (Prince of Wales Museun, Bombay) belongs to this period. The learned Buddhist scholars might have invited those craftsmen at Kanheri.

Another significant evidence which has very important consideration to interpret the eleven-headed image is, the worship of Daśabali Buddha at Kanheri. There are remains of brick stupa in front of the main chaitya at Kanheri. The copper plate of the Traikūṭakas[22] (K. 245-494-95 A.D.) found in the stupa records the construction of the Chaitya made of stone and brick, by a monk named Buddhaśrī son of Puṣyavarman who hailed from Sindhudesh, and it was dedicated to the venerable śāradvatīputra, the chief disciple of the Buddha.

The earliest evidence of epigraphical record of *Daśabali* is from Nagarjunikonda[23]. The Devanimori[24] stone casket inscription of early third century records the construction of a chaitya in the name of *Daśabali.* The third evidence is from the inscription of Toramāṇa (500 A.D.) Punjab, W. Pakistan[25]. It is interesting to note that the stupa in the name of Daśabali was built in Andhra country which has the origin of the Mahāyāna sect. The name Daśabali Buddha in these inscriptions suggests that its idealogy travelled along with the trade-route. The eleven-headed image of Avalokiteśvara at Kanheri with Daśabali in the head-dress is the masterpiece of Buddhist iconography. Highly intellectualised spiritual experience of Daśabali Buddha is beautifully transferred into sculpture. The chaitya was dedicated to the venerable śāradvatiputra, the chief disciple of the Buddha.

The ten powers of the Buddha are pointedly described in *Majjhimanikāya*[26] in the *Simhanādasutta.* They are as follows :

1) Sthānāsthānabalam – Knowledge of correct and faulty conclusions.
2) Karmavipākañaṇabalam Result of one's actions.
3) Sabbatthagāminipaṭipadā Knowledge of everything under all circumstances.
4) Nānādhātuñaṇabalam Diversity of specific experiences.

5)	Nānādhimuktiñaṇabalam	Diversity of disposition.
6)	Sarvadhyānavimokṣa Samādhiñaṇabalam	Knowledge of meditation with its different stages.
7)	Purvanivāsānusmṛtiñaṇabalam	Knowledge of one's former stage of existence.
8)	Indriyaparāparañaṇabalam	Knowledge of what goes on in the senses and intentions of others.
9)	Chityutpattiñaṇabalam	Knowledge of thoughts
10)	Āsavakhayañaṇabalam	Freedom from depravities.

Four qualities of the Buddha

1)	Āsabhaṭhaña	eminent qualities
2)	Abhaya	confidence
3)	Vesārajja ..	highest knowledge
4)	Khema ..	tranquility

The *Mahāyānasutrasangraha*[27] gives ten powers of Bodhisattva as follows :

1)	Adhimuktibalam	faith
2)	Pratisamkhyānabalam	power of computation
3)	Bhāvabalam	power of self-culture
4)	Paṭibhāṇabalam	Illumination
5)	Paṭipaṭṭibalam	proper behaviour
6)	Samādhībalam	power of concentration
7)	Puṇyabalam	power of merit
8)	Kṣāntibalam	power of forbearance
9)	Jñanabalam	power of knowledge
10)	Prahāṇabalam	power in abandoning

The learned monks of Kanheri incorporated the classic ideas of literature and directed the highly skilled artisans to make graphic illustration of the sculpture of Avalokiteśvara. Taking into consideration the inscriptional and sculptural supporting evidence it may logically be interpreted that the ten heads of Avalokiteśvara represent the ten powers of the Bodhisattva and the four hands naturally his additional qualities. As Avalokiteśvara refuses to assume Buddhahood until all beings are rescued, he is shown as an attendant of Amitābha Buddha.

The third point which is to be taken into consideration is Sino-Indian communication which was nurtured by the visit of Hiuen-Tsang. This absolute type of Ekādaśamukha – Avalokiteśvara – i.e. Eleven-faced kuan-yin was popular in China in the late 7th and 8th centuries. While discussing *'A Colossal Eleven-faced Kuan-yin of the Tiang* dynasty, Sherman[28] Lee and Wai-kam-Ho have shown the Eleven-faced Kuan-yin was popular in China. (plate no. 5) They have remarked "The canonical work or copies of icons imported from India seem to have been the only logical means by which the Chinese were introduced to this deity". They have further pointed out that the earliest and the only existing representation of the Eleven-faced one in India is from Kanheri. (plate no. 6) The earliest complete iconographic description of the Eleven-faced Kuan-yin occurs in a Sanskrit Sutra translated into Chinese by Yaśogupta in 561-577 A.D. i.e. *Avalokiteśvara Ekadaśamukha – Dhāraṇi.* A second condensed version from the same Sanskrit origin was translated by Atigupta in 653 A.D. i.e. *Ekadaśamukhahrdi-mantra hṛdaya-sutra.* The third was made only two years later by the great Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. The authors have taken a comprehensive review of all the images of Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara available in China along with various interpretations. Sherman lee and Wai-kam-ho pointed. out :

"In China the Sutras give full description of the image. The earliest translation of the Avalokiteśvara *Ekadashamukhadharani* by Yaśogupta :561-577 A.D.) gives the full iconographic requirements. The body is one foot and three inches tall with eleven heads. The three faces that face forward are Bodhisattvas the three faces on the left side are to be given angry faces and the three faces on the right should be given faces resembling those of Bodhisattvas but with canine tusks projecting upwards. On the rear is another head which must be represented laughing out loud, and on the top of the main head is still another which must be the Buddha face. He holds a washing bottle (Kuṇḍikā) in his left hand from the mouth of which a lotus flower projects, and he extends his right hand grasping his pendant chains of jewels and makes the Abhaya-mudrā.

Subsequent translations, describing the deity are in exact agreement with the description. There are however, different interpretations of the eleven faces of the deity. One source points out that ten faces are representations of the ten bhūmīs or grounds of the fundamental causes which lead to the Buddhahood, represented by the single face on the top. Another Dhārani devoted to this Bodhisattva specifies that the three peaceful faces represent the virtue of the Great void *(Śunya)* three angry faces, the virtue of the Great wisdom *(Prajñā)* and the three faces with canine tusks, the virtue of Great compassion *(Karuṇā)* and finally the top face signifies the non-differentiated entity of compassion and wisdom. With this perfect combination of the three virtues to answer the prayers of all living beings, the Eleven-faced Kuan-yin is able to grant his believers who invoke his name,the ten victories over all the major causes for fears and suffereing, as well as the 'four rewards' which include rebirth in the Western paradise''.

Unfortunately, The *Dhāraṇi Sutras*[29] which described Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara were taken to China by Buddhist monks and this form of Avalokiteśvara became popular in China so much so that the image is variously interpreted whereas in India because of the loss of literary tradition, the image remained in isolation. The *Mahāyānasutrasangraha* does not provide any detailed description of the image of Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara. There are remains of painting on the faces of the image of Avalokiteśvara at Kanheri. Possibly the painted faces might have indicated the Great Void, Great Wisdom and Compassion.

Rays Davids[30] has aptly remarked ''Whatever the exact meaning or meanings of Dhamma may have been at one stage in the history of early Buddhism, Dhamma concerned the inner life of Goutama's followers, their conscience, their mental training and outlook and later stood for the body of teaching that they were to believe and follow *Vinaya* was the discipline governing and regulating the outward life of the monks and nuns who had entered the monastic orders''. The word 'Dharma' distinctly occurs once at Kanheri. It is an incomplete inscription of 5th century A.D. Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā teṣām (tathāgato hyavadat teṣām cha ye nirodha evaṅvādi Mahāśramaṇah) *Mahāyānasutra*: All things are born of causation and their cause has been told by the Tathāgata and the great Muni tells that their cessation takes place thus. The monks who were ardent students of Buddhist scriptures transferred their ideas into inscription.

The Kanheri inscriptions specifically mentioned that the merits accrued from the donations were shared by the donor's parents and relatives. The inscription in cave No. 3 on the gatepost clearly mentions that the chaitya was built in honour of their deceased parents and the merit was shared by their wives, sons, stepbrothers, the crowd of their sisters' sons and the multitude of their blood relations. The Inscription in cave No. 50 has noted that the merit may be shared by the deceased, the living and unborn children. The merits can be accrued not only to one's parents and children but also to grand-sons, grand-daughters, great grand-sons, great grand-daughters and daughters-in-law. Other inscriptions record that merits should be accrued to their parents and loved-ones and also to all living beings. Besides relatives, advisers and witnesses had their own share of the merit. A Śilāhāra inscription of Gomin Avighnākara states that merits of his donation would be shared by Pattiyāṇaka ȳoga and Āchārya of Chikhyallapallikā. These inscriptions reveal the doctrine which is exactly in conformity to the Mahāyana idea of Bodhisattva who refuses to assume Buddhahood until all living beings are rescued.

The inscriptions are not intended for recording religious discourses. They are pure donations. There is not much evidence to be obtained from them as far as the doctrines and practices of the Buddhist religion is concerned. Nevertheless, certain ideas of the beliefs and traditions can be derived from the mention of certain words which had religious significance.

The inscription in cave No. 88 records a permanent donation for the welfare of all living beings and for the fulfilment of the hope of the final liberation for himself. *Saṁyutta*[31] *Nikāya* describes Nibbāna as the distruction of lust, hatred, distruction of illusion, attachment, aversion and confusion. It is the Āryan eightfold path for the realization of *'Nibbāna'*. It is unborn[32], unaging, undecaying, undying, unscrrowing and stainless. In the Nikāyas, the definition of Nirvāṇa has been avoided with the remark that it is indeterminate (avyākṛta). But it is the blissful reward of a long course of exertion – a haven of peace and rest. The Hinayāna made Nirvāṇa attainable by a few only through the life of a monk. The Mahāyāna taught that every man could aim at becoming a Bodhisattva. The ethical humanism and universalism of the Mahāyāna are quite in the spirit of early Buddhism. It was Buddha's mission to extend the blessings of salvation to all mankind. It may be observed that the solitary inscription at Kanheri is in total agreement with the sacred texts.

In the later inscriptions, the ideas of hell and heaven are also mentioned.

The Śilāhāra inscription dated Ś 775 (853-54 A.D.) says 'O Buddha who is in heaven'. It suggests that the

Buddhist heaven is a place where the Buddha lives. He is considered as the lord of three regions.

In the Mahāvastu[33] it is said that those who give gifts and perform good deeds which are meritorious, go to heavenly abode.

The concept of hell in Buddhism is reflected in the two śilāhāra inscriptions. In both the inscriptions certain hells are mentioned. One inscription dated Ś 775 (853-854 A.D.) mentions the 'Avichi', 'Paritāpa' 'Kumbhīpāka', as the places wnere the person would be reborn if he would misappropriate the gift. The other inscription dated Ś 799 (857-858 A.D.) warns that he would be guilty of five sins if he would not preserve the gift.

Two inscriptions of the Śilāhāra period mention 'Avichi'. Those who would misappropriate the gift would reborn and have for their food, cow-flesh vomited by dogs. Another inscription records that 'He who would not preserve the gift will be guilty of the five sins and shall suffer great pain in 'Avichi' and other hells'.

The reference to hells suggests that like Brahmanism the Buddhist monks had a very clear concept of 'hells'. What the scriptures say[34] about the wicked beings reborn in the hells is strongly corroborated by the inscriptions at Kanheri.

The inscription of the Śilāhāra period records that whoever will not preserve the gift (100 dramms) shall be guilty of the five sins. In Buddhism five sins involve matricide, patricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha and causing division among the Saṅgha[35].

The concept of five great sins in Buddhism is different from that of Brahmanism. In Brahmanism it is listed as follows : 1) slaying a brahmin 2) drinking intoxicating liquors 3) theft 4) adultery with the wife of Guru 5) association with anyone guilty of these crimes[36].

The inscriptions at Kanheri have recorded 'Vassāvāsa' of monks. Except for the mention of Vassāvāsa, there is no direct reference to any other practice of Buddhism. However, the erection of stupa, and worship of the Buddha image are mentioned in inscriptions. The inscription in cave No. 32 records that a merchant named Dharma donated a cave, a water-cistern, benches a chair and a flight of stairs and a permanent endowment of one-sixteenth share of Kārshāpāṇās were to be given for clothes to the monks who resided in the cave during the rainy season. The inscription in cave No. 73 records that a merchant named Isipāla made a donation of a cave, a cistern and a permanent endowment of a field, and the one-twelth share was to be given for clothes to those monks who stayed for four months. During Vassāvāsa monks devoted their time to the study of scriptures and instruction to the people. The Kanheri inscriptions in Cave Nos. 15, 16, 18, 21, 32, 54, 65 and 73 recorded specific condition that the monks who would spend their *'Vassāvāsa'* at Kanheri were to receive their clothes. The condition of the Vāssavāsa of the monks for the clothes suggests that the Pāvāraṇā and Kaṭhiṇa ceremonies which were supposed to be performed on the full moon day of Kāttika was the usual practice.

The term 'upaṭhānasālā' occurs in the inscription in cave No. 3 on the gatepost. It was situated in the Ambālikā Vihāra at Kalyan but the Kanheri Buddhist Saṅgha must had its own 'Upostha' services within its own permises. The cave No. 11 at Kanheri appears to have been made purposely for holding the 'upostha' ceremony. There are ten cells on its three sides and two rows of benches in the centre of the hall. The nature of the hall suggests that it must have been used for holding the 'upostha' ceremony - service hall. The word 'upaṭhānasālā' occurs in the 'Saṁyutta Nikāya[37]. In Visākhasutta, the venerable Visākha of Pāñchāla was in meeting hall (upaṭhānasālā) instructing, inciting, enlightening and inspiring the brethern with pious discourses in urbane speech (Poriyā Vachāyā) well articulated, without hoarseness, expounding the meaning of scriptures. This suggests that 'upaṭhānasālā' was used for religious discourses and as a service hall.

Building of a stupa in the honour of a teacher was considered as a meritorious gift. The inscription in cave No. 4 mentions the gift of Sivapālitanikā, the wife of the goldsmith, Dhamaṇaka for the erection of a stupa in the memory of Sthavira Dhamapāla. The brick stupas in the cemetary were erected in the honour of learned teachers. The absence of the names of donors suggests that the Buddhist community must have undertaken the work of erecting stupas in the memory of learned teachers.

The 'Saṅgha' which connotes a congregation of monks and nuns constitutes the third gem of the Triratnas. Monastic institution was the most remarkable contribution of Buddhism to the Indian culture. The Buddha was not in favour of extreme austerity. He permitted his disciples to live in monasteries specially built for them, accept food and carry on their studies and meditation. The monasteries gradually developed into academic centres. They trained monks to propagate the teachings of Buddhism with missionary spirit. These monasteries were supported by the munificent grants made by lay devotees to further the cause of religion. It was to the Saṅgha that the

donations were made and the inscriptions have recorded many donations which were deposited in the hands of the Saṅgha.

The inscriptions have recorded different donations to *'Bhikhusaṅgha'* but a few inscriptions have specifically recorded the donors' desire to serve monks coming from all directions *(Chātudisabhikhusaṅgha.)* The importance of saṅgha is emphasised in later inscriptions. In two Śilāhāra inscriptions dated Ś 775 (853-854 A.D.) and Ś 799 (877-878 A.D.) have recommended the importance of the Saṅgha. Gomin Avighnākara a devout worshipper of sugata who had come at Kanheri from the country of Gauda made a perpetual endowment of one hundred drammas for the room of meditation and clothing. The grant was approved and confirmed in the presence of the venerable community. Twentyfour years after this grant, respectable Vevā donated a grant of hundred drammas to establish a room for meditation and clothing for monks. The deed was approved in the presence of the community.

The Buddhist Saṅgha enjoyed local autonomy and the inscriptions have recorded many donations to the Saṅgha for distribution of food, clothing, almbowls, sandals, etc. The inscriptions have mentioned various categories of monks of the Saṅgha such as upāsaka, pavajita, sāmaṇera, bhikhu, bhadanta, thera bhadanta. Achārya thera bhadanta Ārya Arhanta and Upāsakas- the lay devotees were the backbone of the Saṅgha who supplied its daily requirements. The lay devotees have provided for the monks, the caves, water cisterns, bathing tanks, clothing, food etc. The Upāsaka could acquire merit by providing monks with food, clothes and shelters. There are references to Pavajita (male novice) in the inscriptions. Pavajita Ānanda made a donation of a cave (no. 39). The mention of theri Pavaitikā Poṇakisaṇā (Cave No. 54) Pavaitikā Sāpā (Cave No. 65) Pavaitikā dāmā (Cave No. 81) suggests that female novices were admitted in the Saṅgha at Kanheri. The occurrence of the name Bhikṣuṇi Dāmilā suggests that there was a Bhikṣuṇi saṅgha at Kanheri. The inscription (Cave No. 54) recorded the important word 'Samaṇapāpakehi' Sanskrit – śrāmaṇyaprāpādakaihi'– the monks who have attained the stage of Śrammaṇa. Two inscriptions (Cave No. 3) refer to Śākyabhikṣus. Both the inscriptions are of later period i.e. 5th century A.D. The specific mention of Sākya suggests that the monks were proud of their Śākya clan but the inscriptions do not mention from which place those Bhikṣus hailed.

The inscriptions have recorded names of Ācharyas who might be preceptors for the novices. There were two Āchārya Thera Bhadantas at Kanheri. They were Seümla and Vira. Bhadant Dharmavatsa was Traipiṭakopādhyāya. Vijayasena was a 'Tevija' (Epitaph No. 1). The epitaphs have recorded the scholastic merits and the stage of sainthood attained by the monks. The brick stupas were erected in the memory of those learned monks. One epitaph (No.2) refers to a Thera who had achieved upto the *'Anāgāmin'* which is the stage preceding the Arhathood. In these inscriptions, the *'Aṇāgāmin'* is addressed only as *'Thera Bhadanta'* while others are addressed as *'Thera Āyya'.*

Arhat had to pass through three stages in order to attain the arhathood. The first stage is called *'sotāpanna'* in which a person is following the eightfold path. In the second stage viz. *'Sakadāgāmin,'* he has only one birth. In the third stage which is known as *'Aṇāgāmin',* the person is free from birth and death in this world but he has a birth in the Brahmaloka. Thera Bhadanta Dāma was said to have reached the *'Aṇāgāmin'* stage.

The study of inscriptions at Kanheri reveals that at the lowest level there lived a householder (Gahapati) who did not take any refuge in the order. Then comes a lay devotee (upāsaka) who alongwith his family members participated in different activities of Saṅgha and supported the Sangha with shelter, food, clothing etc. Next come *'Pavajita', 'Bhikṣu'*, 'Bhadanta', 'Thera Bhadanta', 'Achariya Thera Bhadanta'. A monk was addressed as *Āchariya ,Thera Bhadanta.,* which indicated his advancement in learning scriptures.

The highest stage that a monk could attain was the Arhathood for which one has to go through three stages viz. *Sotapanna, Sakadāgāmi* and *Anāgāmi.* After these three stages a monk could achieve Arhathood. In the Mahāyāna idealogy a monk could go to the stage of liberation. The inscription in cave No. 88 records the meritotious gift of a water cistern by Mitaṇaka for the fulfilment of the hope of final liberation for himself.

The inscriptions refer to teachers and pupils (Antevāsi) but very little is known about the education which was imparted in the early period. After 5th century onwards the inscriptions recorded the names of teachers along their scholastic merits such as Traipiṭakopādhyāya, Tevija Ṣaḍabhiñani, Paṭisaṁbhidāpātta etc.

The following were the teachers and pupils:-

Name of teacher	**Pupil**
Āchārya Thera Bhadanta Seümla	Bhadanta Bodhika
Thera Bhadanta Ghoṣa	Theri Ponakisaṇā
Thera Bhadanta Hālaka	Kaṇha
Thera Bhadanta Bodhika	Pavayitikā Sāpā

Traipitako-upādhyāya Bhadanta Bhikṣu Buddhaghosa Dharmavatsa

The epitaphs in the cemetary record the names of teachers of high religious achievements. They not only throw light on ancient Buddhist monastic institutions but also offer evidence for the first time of teachers' tradition in western Indian caves. The occurrence of names of Buddhist teachers suggests that the sthaviravādi monks at Kanheri were greatly honoured.

The establishment at Kanheri welcomed monks from all the four directions but still we find references to three sects.
1. Aparaseliya 2. Andhaka 3. Bhadrāvanīya

Aparaseliya :

Dixit[38] read the name of the sect 'Aparaseliya' in cave No. 65. It records that Pavayitikā Sāpā from Dhenukākata donated the cave and a water-cistern to the Aparaseliyas coming from all the four directions. The Aparaseliya sect is mentioned in the Nagarjunakonda inscription. The sect might have its provenance in South India. The donor of the inscription hailed from Dnenukākaṭa. It is but natural that she would record her grant for the Aparseliya sect originated in her country.

One epitaphh records the name Andhaka[39]. Andhaka was a general name given to the followers of the Mahāsānghikas who settled in Eastern ghats around the region of Amaravati and Nagajunikonda. It was the Hinayāna sect and it had four branches 1) Rājagirikā 2) Siddhatthika 3) Pubbaselikā 4) Aparaselikā.

Bhadrāvaṇiya sect :

The Kanheri inscriptions have recorded two donations to Bhadrāvaṇīya sect. The inscription in cave No. 3 records that the Chaitya was donated to the monks of the Bhadrāvaṇīya sect. Another inscription in cave no. 50 records the donation of a cave, water-cistern and a cell to the Bhadrāvaṇīya sect. Bhadrāvaṇīya sect had establishment at Nasik[40]. Kanheri also became an important centre of Bhadrāvaṇīyas, is proved by these two inscriptions.

Apart form three basic needs of the Sangha viz. food, shelter and clothing, the inscriptions have recorded other donations such as repair-works, windows, verandahs, almsbowl, sandals for the comfort of monks. The monks did not solely depend on food obtained by begging. Food was prepared in the monastery. The inscription (cave No. 32) records the name *'Bhojanachatusālā'*. The inscription in cave No. 21 records the gift of a field in the village Magalaṭhāṇa. The inscription in cave No. 2 mentions refectory.

Most of the inscriptions at Kanheri have recorded the simple aspects of religion. But the later inscriptions especially the Śilāhāra inscriptions have recorded the donations made for the construction of meditation rooms.

The Śilāhāra inscriptions offer an authentic evidence of Vajrayāna Buddhism and its academic activities. The inscription dated in Ś 775 (853-854 A.D.) records a meritorious gift of one hundred drammas for the room for meditation. The inscription dated in Ś 799 = (877-878 A.D.) records the donation of respectable Vevā for a room suitable for meditation. The inscription dated Ś 765 (843-44 A.D.) mentions the donation of one dramma for the purchase of books.

The panorama of hundred and four caves gives us a coherent picture of the evolution of Buddhism from 2nd century A.D. to 9th century A.D. In due course the Hīnayāna character of Kanheri was influenced by the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna ideas. With the introduction of the Mahāyāna pantheon there were elaborate sculptures in caves which illustrate the educational tradition which is significantly recorded in inscriptions. There are many images of the Buddha in Pralambapādāsana and Dharmachakramudrā. The representation of Dipaṅkara Buddha (cave no. 67) the Buddha on Muchalinda Nàga. Śrāvasti miracfe indicate the versatality of Buddhist monks. In cave No. 67 the Buddha is seated on the throne which depicts a couchant lion at each corner. It might be the superb illustration of *Simhanādasutta.* Introduction of female figures, eleven headed Avalokiteśvara and litany scenes suggest the popularity of vijrayāna Buddhism. The litany scene dipicts Avalokiteśvara rescuing devotee from ten dangers. It suggests donor's deep knowledge of *'Milinda Paña'*. The litany scenes and Makara motifs indicate the traders' support to the establishment which is best illustrated in the sculpture of DipaTarā at Kanheri.

With the advent of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, numerous gods and goddesses were introduced. The new Buddhist pantheon was born with the Dhyāni Buddhas and their consorts among whom Tārā the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara was the most important deity. In Buddhism Tārā enjoyed an exhalted position as was occupied by the great goddess Durgā in Brahmanism. Like Durgā[41] she is considered to be the personified energy of her consort Avalokiteśvara. She is the Śakti of Avalokiteśvara as Durgā is the Śakti of Śiva. She is represented as the mother of all the Buddhas and the Bodhisattavas, the

symbol of primordial female energy. Tārā enjoys same respect as Avalokiteśvara and is given equal status and is considered as the great saviour.

The iconography of the Buddhist gods and goddesses was first exhaustively dealt with great length by Bhattacharya[42]. Getty[43] took a review of the Buddhist gods of Northern India. Shastri[44] wrote an exhaustive monograph on the origin and cult of Tārā. Bhattasali[45] had illustrated many Buddhist gods and goddesses of the Dacca Museum. Gupte[46] has taken a review of sculptures of Tārā from Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad. He has shown the Tārā that mother who can control the rush of waters is the chief of those Śaktis who navigates or guides the boats and has dark complextion. Her Aṣṭamahābhaya aspect has been brought to the notice of scholars by Debala Mitra[47] and Sengupta[48] in the litanies from Ratnagiri and Ellora respectively.

The introduction of Tārā in the Buddhist pantheon is a subject of great controversy. Shastri is of the opinion that the cult of Tārā is essentially Buddhist in its origion and the Brahmanical mythology borrowed it from the Buddhist pantheon. He has further stated that the cult of Tārā originated and developed somewhere towards the northern borders of Tibet and from there, was introduced in north India through Nepal and from Magadh it spread over rest of the country. He supported his hypothesis on the basis of her typical worship 'Chināchāra' (Chinese mode of worship) and relevant tantric texts.

Sircar[49] was of the opinion that east India was the origin of the cult of Tārā and the merger of a number of local deities with Tārā may have been responsible for the development of her various forms.

Bhattacharya in his book on Indian Buddhist Iconography has shown the striking similarity between the Buddhist Tārā and the Brahmanic goddess Tārā and ultimately concluded that the concept of Tārā in the Brahamanic pantheon was borrowed from the Buddhists. On the basis of literary evidence and sculptural representations in western Indian caves Dhavalikar has tried to show that Tārā appears as a distinct deity in the Lalitopkhyāna, of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. She is represented as the chief (Naukeśvarī) of the countless boat-women controlling the navigation in the lake of nectar who can suppress the flooded waters. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* gives the account of the imperial Guptas and their contemporary kings. On the basis of this evidence Hazra[50] is of the opinion that Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa could not have been redacted before 4th century A.D. Dhavalikar[51] has supported this hypothesis and concluded that Tārā was a distinct deity of navigation in Brahmanical pantheon before 5th century A.D. In Buddhist literature earlier than 6th century A.D. there are no refernces to Tārā. Her sculptural representations also do not occur before 6th century A.D. From her sculptural representations in Buddhist caves in western India Dhavalikar has shown that Tārā was the goddess of navigation. Her worship was popular amongst the traders' community on the western coast of India. The trade of India with mediterranean countries was carried on from western coast. The merchants and mariners on western coast worshipped Tārā for protection and security. These wealthy merchants either individually or collectively carved her image in Buddhist caves. A good number of sculptural representations of Tārā have been found in the western Indian Buddhist caves viz. Ajanta, Aurangabad, Ellora, Kanheri, Kuda etc.

So far as the iconography of Tārā is concerned different varieties of Tārā have been assigned to four Dhyāni Buddhas viz. Amogha-Siddhi, Ratnasmbhava, Amitābha, Akṣobhya. A miniature effigy of the parental Dhyāni Buddhas appears on the tiaras of Tārā but sometimes it is absent.

The identification of Tārā[52] could be made by means of attending cognizances and sitting postures. Tārā in her early and simple form is endowed with two hands. Her right hand is either in Varada or Abhaya mudrā. In her left hand there is a lotus. She is normally shown as seated in the Vajraparyaṇkāsana or Lalitāsana. She is alone or in the company of her consort or accompanied by other Buddhist deities.

There are many forms of this goddess having separate existence and functions. In the course of time with the multiplication of the forms of the goddess, the number of her hands increased and variations appeared in respect of sitting postures. In the medieval period in the illustrated manuscripts they are having colours of their respective sires. Saraswati[53] has noted some important forms. Of course these standards cannot be applied to the stone sculptures. It appears that certain tribal goddesses were incorporated as her forms such as Jāṅguli, the goddess of tribal people who has the power of extracting poison from the body of a snake-bitten person. Parṇaśabarī destroys all diseases and epidemics.

In the Aṣṭamahābhaya aspect, she is invoked for the deliverance, from eight perils like shipwreck, conflagration enraged elephant, bouncing lion, etc.

On the basis of the study of *Sādhanamālā* and *Nishpanayogāvali*, Bhattacharya[54] has made a list of twenty four forms of Tārā and her hundred and eight names.

Plate No. 7) DipaTārā at Kanheri cave No. 3

Plate No. 8) Wooden Tārā from Kanheri

The sculpture of Tārā is in cave No. 3 (plate no. 7) on the left side wall and to the left side of the colossal standing Buddha. She occupies a very small place on the wall. She is shown as a companion of Avalokiteśvara. To her left he is holding a lotus and a rosary. The sculpture of Tārā is certainly later than the colossal Buddha and Avalokiteśvara. it is clear as she has occupied a disturbing spot rather than a sculpture of the total plan. Her measurements are as follows :

Height	73 cm
Breadth	21 cm
Waist line	8 cm
From waist to feet	43 cm
Face	15.5 × 8 cm.

This is an elegant figure of Tārā holding full-blown lotus in her left hand and a torch in her right hand, absolutely in benign form axhibiting the superb sense of plastic art. The moon digit is conspicuously shown on her hair chignon, further suggests her role as the guiding star of navigation. This form of Dīpa Tārā is the only example of Tārā so far noticed in western India.

In the Sādhanas she is to be shown in the maṇḍala of Vajra-Tārā who is said to ward off various dangers which comprises ten goddesses.

(1) Puṣpa Tārā (2) Dhūpa Tārā (3) Dīpa Tārā (4) Gandha Tārā (5) Vajirāṅkuśi (6) Vajrasphoṭā (7) Vajrapāśi (8) Vajraghaṇṭā (9) Usṇiṣavijayā (10) Śumbhā. These ten goddesses are said to emanate from the ten syllables of Tārā mantra and the embodiment of the ten Pāramitas. Tārā Mantra : Oṁ Tāre Tuttāre Tāre Svāhā *Sādhanamālā* described Dīpa Tārā as follows :

Paśchime Dīpatārāñcha pītavarṇā subhūṣitaṁ
Dīpavṛkṣānvitakarāṁ chandre Ŕékārasambhavāṁ

This means :

Dīpa Tārā is the goddess of west, yellow in colour, holding tree of lamps. The letter 'Re' of her mantra emanated from the moon.

Paśchime Dīpatārāñcha Dipayaṣṭkarākuli Pītavarṇā
Mahābhūṣāṁ ṣhalatkanakakuṇḍalām

This means :

Dīpa Tārā, the Goddess of west carries in her hand a torch. She is of yellow complexion, profusely ornamented and has swinging golden ear-rings.

The description in the second śloka and the sculpture of 'Dīpa Tārā' at Kanheri have perfect approximation. This is the only sculpture of Dīpa Tārā in stone which represents the iconographic details according to Sādhanas. There is another image of Tārā from Sarnath[55] which belongs to the 8th century A.D., has four hands, seated in Vajraparyaṅka on Lotus. In her upper left hand there is a flame-like object and she is tentatively identified as *DīpaTāṛā* a companion deity of the maṇḍala of Dhanda Tārā or VajraTārā. The Sādhanas describe this goddess as two-handed and it therefore does not correspond to the description of any of the forms of Tārā with four hands.

In the western Indian caves especially at Ellora there are nearly twenty-five representations of Tārā and the remarkable sculpture of the litany of Tārā. It indicates that there was an iconographic tradition of Tārā at Ellora. All the sculptures of Tārā at Ellora have been dated after 7th century A.D. i.e. the Rāshṭrakūṭa period.

Under the polytheistic influence of Vajrayāna cult, numerous gods and goddesses, minor and major, appeared in the Buddhist pantheon. Sometimes even the minor goddess became popular. The sculpture of Dīpa Tārā at Kanheri bears testimony to it.

At Kanheri Avalokiteśvara was the popular deity. Tārā is shown as his companion in cave No. 90.

The unique sculpture of Tārā in cave No. 3 is shown alongwith the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara. This sculpture could be dated with the help of epigraphic evidence. The Nesari[56] plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Govinda III (dated Ś 727-805 A.D.) record that the king snatched away the royal banner of the Pāla monarch Dharmapāla which bore the effigy of Bhagavatī Tārā.

At Kanheri there are three inscriptions of the Śilāhāra kings. One inscription[57] dated in Ś 765 (844 A.D.) is of Pullaśakti records the donation of one dramma (coin) for the purchase of books. Two inscriptions[58] are of the King Kapardin II. The inscriptions have recorded that the Śilāhāra kings were feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. One inscription dated Ś 775 (853/54 A.D.) has mentioned Paramabhṭṭārka Mahārājādhirāja Jagattuṅga. This was another name of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III. The same inscription records the donation of Gomin Avighnākara who hailed from Gauḍadesha i.e. Bengal. Avighnākara made a donation of 100 drammas (coins) for the construction of meditation room at Kṛṣṇagiri-Kanheri. After twenty-four[59] years in Ś 799 i.e. 877/878 A.D. a person named Vevā made a perpetual donation for the meditation room (Koliveśmika).

From the above mentioned epigraphic evidence it is clear that the political victory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govind III over Bengal had nurtured the cultural relations between Bengal and Western India. This was

the time when the cult of Tārā which was prevalent in Bengal was introduced at Kanehri in western India. Reference to the donation of one dramma for the purchase of books delineates the educational tradition at Kanheri. There is another evidence of wooden Tārā from Kanheri. Sankalia[60] has shown that the wooden sculpture of Tārā resembles the figures of Tārā of Pāla period which were found in the excavation at Nalanda (plate no. 8).

All these evidences prove that a devotee of DīpaTārā who knew the Sādhanas, who might possibly be a navigator must have excavated this unique sculpture at Kanheri. This sculpture indicates the superb synchronism between the imagination of a Buddhist monk and the Sādhanas. He must have instructed the artizen for compliance and therefore we find exact approximation between the Sādhanas of Tārā and the sculpture of Tārā at Kanheri. To sum up :

The Kanheri inscriptions have reocrded various donations to the establishment. There is mention of Bhadrāvaniya, Aparaseliya and Andhaka sects of Hinayāna school. The epitaphs in cemetary have reocrded the names of sthaviravādi monks. But some inscriptions reocrd that the Kanheri establishment welcomed monks coming from all the four quarters. From 2nd century Kanheri enjoyed a prominent position. It's reputation was at its zenith in the śitāhāra period and it was addressed as *'Mahārāja Mahāvihāra'* Great king of great vihāras.

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5. Palaeography

The remarkable cultural activity at Kanheri was sustained through the dynasties of the Sātavāhanas, Traikūṭakas, Vākāṭakas, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Traikūṭaka plate and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions are dated in the Kalachuri and śaka era respectively. The Vākāṭaka phase at Kanheri could be recognized by the epitaphs which are written either in the box-headed variety of Brāhmī or in the nail-headed variety. There was greater concentration of inscriptions in Sātavāhana period. But so far as the Sātavāhana chronology is concerned there are three theories of chronological sequence proposed for the Sātavāhana age. Dani[1] who has elaborately studied the Indian palaeography appears to have accepted the view which places Simuka in 30 B.C., arranged the dates for others accordingly. He has discussed the Sātavāhana pen-style categorically.

Dehejia[2] in her erudite book on *'Early Buddhist Rock temples'* has taken a deep survey of the palaeographical features of the western Indian cave inscriptions. At Kanheri Sātavāhana inscriptions are dated in the regnal years and there is a complete absence of any date in the donative inscriptions of private individuals.

The Kanheri inscriptions may be studied against the back-drop of the Nanaghat inscription which is the earliest inscription of the dynasty. They could be compared with the Nasik cave inscriptions which are literally treasure-trove (Phalakavāra) of the Sātavāhana house.

Dani[3] has shown that the standard pen style of the western Deccan is revealed in the Nanaghat inscription and next in the series is the Nasik inscription of Hakusiri. (no. 19). In these inscriptions there are no head-marks on the letters and no particular attention has been paid to the equalization of the verticals, though uniform length is maintained. The medial vowel marks follow the same old style. Letters such as *ga, gha, ta, tha, da, na, pa, ya, la,* and *sa* are in the same tradition. It may be observed that having given due consideration to the individual mannerism; similar peculiarities appear in the inscription of Kaṇha at Nasik[4]. The Kanheri inscription in cave No. 2 which records the donation of refactory and the two inscriptions which record the donations of water-cisterns may be assigned to the time of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi who uprooted Kṣaharātas and occupied Kaṇhagiri[5]. With the political stability of the Sātavāhanas the cave activity flourished at Kanheri, during the reign of Vāsisthiputra Puḷumāvi and Yajñasrī Sātakarṇi.

In the further development of the Sātavāhana script Dani has pointed out that with the coming of the foreigners in Nasik region there is a marked improvement in the style of writing. The donative inscriptions of Yavanas and Śakas made a remarkable

contribution in bringing a new style of writing. Dani[6] has remarked, that "The pen style which developed in Eastern Malwa entered Gujarat during the rule of the Chaṣṭana group of the Western Kṣatrapas. There are three distinct features : i) special attention is paid to the head-mark. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman shows the line head-mark while a few others have a solid triangular head-mark ii) some new shapes of letters are introduced in the Deccan. The most important are the forms of *'ta'* with its rounded appendages and the round backed *'da'* with its mouth open to the right and the iii) third remarkable change is seen in the ornamental form of letters. The curves and notches in the verticals and horizontals and the flourishes in the medial vowels are noteworthy". The above-mentioned characters could be noticed in the inscriptions at Kanheri. The matrimonial relation between the western Kṣatrapa house and the Sātavāhana house is too well known to be discussed. The inscription in cave No. 5 has recorded the name of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi, daughter of *'Kārdamakarājaṁva'saprabhava'* (Ru) and Aṁatya Śāteraka. At present the inscription is in extremely bad condition but the letters which are in existence display a close relationship with the letters of the inscription of Rudradāman. The letters have a solid traingular head-mark. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and instead of the word 'Podhi' for the water cistern the inscription has recorded the Sanskrit word *'Pāniyabhājana'*. Similar type of letters is observed in the inscription of Bhoigi Dāmilā in cave No. 98. A definite development in the script is observed in the inscriptions of Pulumāvi. The verticals of *'ka'* and 'Ra' have a curve at the lower end with rounded appendages.

The analysis of the inscriptions at Kanheri shows that although it has close relationship with Nasik, it developed its own characteristics.

At Nasik there are royal records of the Sātavāhana house and therefore the inscriptions even if they were verbally ordered, afterwards were written by responsible administrative officers like minister (Amātya) or the war-minister (Mahāsenāpati). The inscriptions were executed by (uparakhita) officers.

The inscription of Gautamiputra[7] delivered the deed in his 18th year from the victorious camp, donated a grant of 200 nivartanas to Tekirasi monks. The king commanded Viṇhupāla the officer at Govardhana, the Ajakālakiya field in the village of western Kakhaḍi previously (No. 12) enjoyed by Usabhadata first orally ordered, then was written by Sivagupta (kṣata) supervised by Mahāsāmi (uparakhita) and executed by Tāpasa.

The Nasik inscription of Usabhadāta(No. 12) refers to the proclamation of a land-grant in the *'Nigamasabhā'* and its subsequent registration and embodiment into archives kept in the 'Phalakavāra'. At Nasik there were writers who made donations to the fraternity. Two inscriptions at Nasik (No. 16, 26) have recorded that Rāmaṇaka, son of writer Sivamita made a meritorious grant of a cave. The other inscription records the grant of Śaka Damachika Vudhika, son of Viṇhumita, a writer (Lekhaka).

It is clear from the above discussion that Nasik had a writers' tradition and therefore different terminologies concerning writing techniques occur in inscriptions. At Kanheri nowhere we find the name of a writer. Even the words 'Kṣata' 'Utkiṃa' 'Likhita' meaning written, engraved are completely absent. The monks must be writing the inscriptions and therefore the inscriptions at Kanheri display various hand-writings.

The inscription on the two gate posts records the construction of the chaitya at Kanheri and the 5th regnal year of Gautamiputra Yajñaśrī. The inscription states that the work was started by Gajasena and Gajamita and was completed by Apareṇuka. These inscriptions are fine examples of showing individual mannerism. The two inscriptions must have been written by two individuals. The letters in the inscription on the left-hand gate post of the chaitya cave are written artistically. It appears that the work of the construction of the Chaitya must have been completed within a period of ten years. The inscription in cave No. 21 which was engraved in the 16th regnal year of the king Yajñaśrī records donations made by the family members of Apareṇu. It may therfore be presumed that Apareṇu who completed the work of the chaitya in cave no. 3 in Yajñaśrī's 5th regnal year and Apareṇu who made donation of the cave no. 21 in the regnal year 16 of the king Yajñśrī might be the same persons.

The study of inscriptions at Kanheri brings to light manifestation of different aspects of cultural evaluation. Due to prominent geographic position, Kanheri became a large Buddhist establishment in western India. Kanheri enjoyed a strategic position which had linkage with the hinterland through Thalghat to Nasik and Nanaghat. The political history reveals that Sopara and Kalyan were important sea ports from the Mauryan period and from 1st century onwards with the growing trade with Rome, Kalyan and Chaul enjoyed the similar significant position. During the reign of Gautamīputra Yajñśrī, the western coast was literally humming with trade activities. One inscription has noted a ward of people from 'Gāndhāra.' The ship type coin and the fleet type coin of Yajñasrī[8] (174 A.D. to 203 A.D.) had offered a

corraborative evidence of long-distance trade during his regime.

Kanheri had continuous communication from North and South India. Majority of the inscriptions have registered the donations for the monks coming from all the four directions.

The silting of ports of Sopara and Kalyan and the decline of the Sātavāhana empire resulted into the abandonment of the monastic settlements in western India. But the Kanheri complex was basically sustained on the moderate donations maintained its idealogical enthusiasm upto the Rāshtrakūta period. i.e. 9th century A.D.

The special donations made by people in the name of their teachers eloquently speak of the high regard of the pupils for their teachers. The Traikuṭaka plate records the erection of a stupa which was dedicated to Sāriputra who was the ardent student of *'Abhidhaṃa'*. which is a totality of psychologcal and philosophical teaching of Buddhism. It may therefore be inferred that Kanheri was a centre of Buddhist higher education in 494/95 A.D.

The epitaphs in the cemetary record the names of teachers of high religious achievements. They not only throw light on ancient Buddhist monastic institutions but also they offer evidence for the first time of teachers.' tradition in Western India.

The script of two records of Madhariputa Sakasena has a close relationship with the inscription of Iśvarasena at Nasik. The dated Traikuṭaka plate (K 245 = 494-95 A.D.) appears to be the faithful reproduction of the original plate and the script displays characteristics of the Traikūṭaka script which occur in other copper-plates of the dynasty.

The twentysix epitaphs which have recorded the names of Buddhist teachers are written either in nail-headed variety or Box-headed variety of Brāhmī. The Vākāṭaka phase at Kanheri was very short and therefore there is a complete absence of royal records of the Vākātakas. Although the box-headed variety was prevalent upto 7th century A.D. in South India especially in the Yekkéri inscription of Pulakeśi its abrupt end at Kanheri indicates temporary dominance of the Vākāṭakas. The three Śilāhāra inscriptions are dated and are written in early Nāgari script.

The various terminologies concerning writing-techniques occur in the Sātavāhana inscriptions at Nasik. The professional writers at Nasik registered their names in inscriptions. Kanheri was an educational centre from early period. It may be presumed that the monks might have taken writing as their religious duty. Therefore the learned monks of Kanheri avoided their names in inscriptions. Thus the absence of professional writers may be justified.

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	A	Ā	i	ī	u	ū	ē	ai	o	ou	aṁ	KA	KHA	GA	GHA	ṄA	CHHA	JA	JHA	ÑA	ṬA	ṬHA	ḌA	ḌHA	ṆA
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51 - 100																									
101 - 150																									
'50																									
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201 - 250																									
251 - 300																									
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495																									
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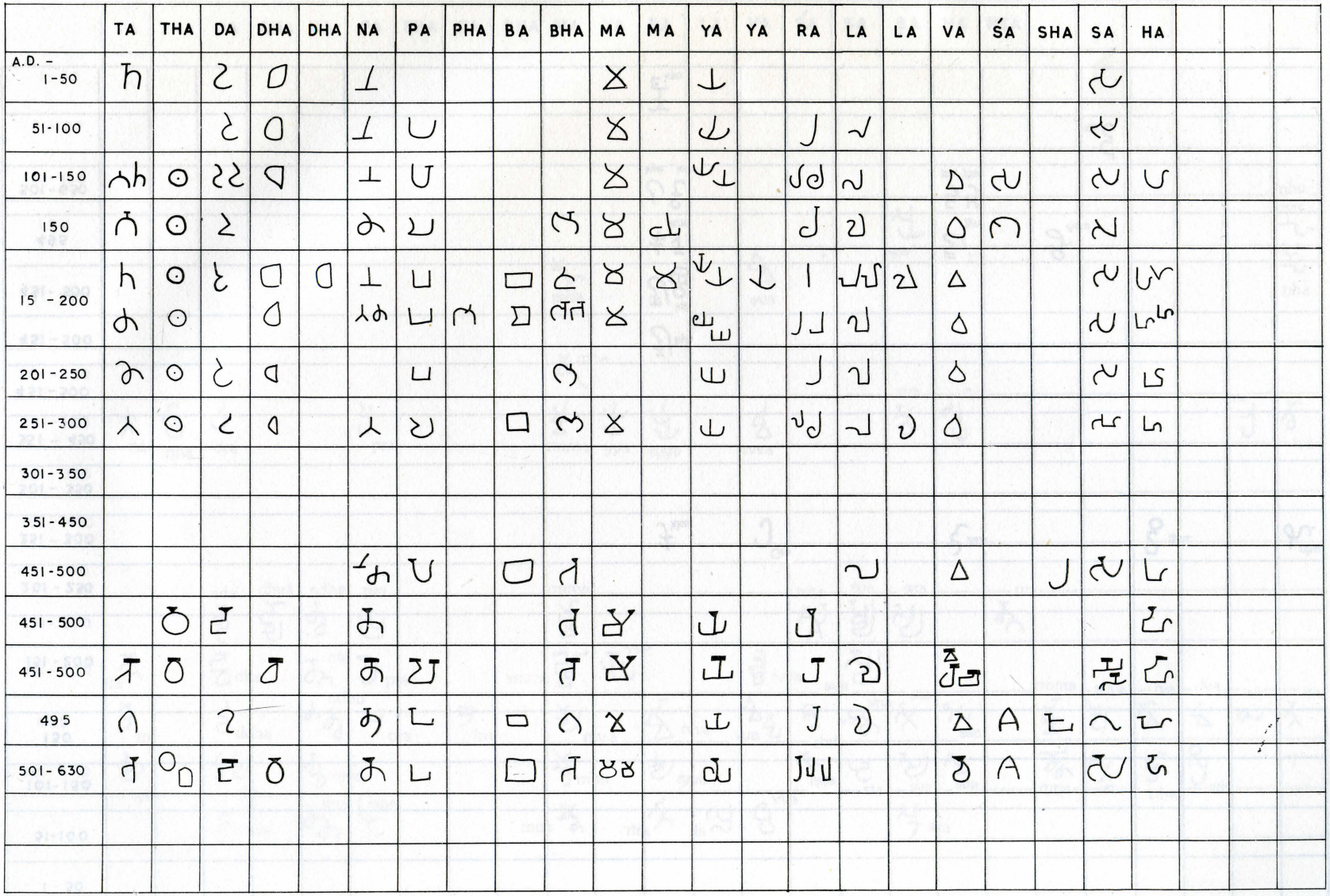
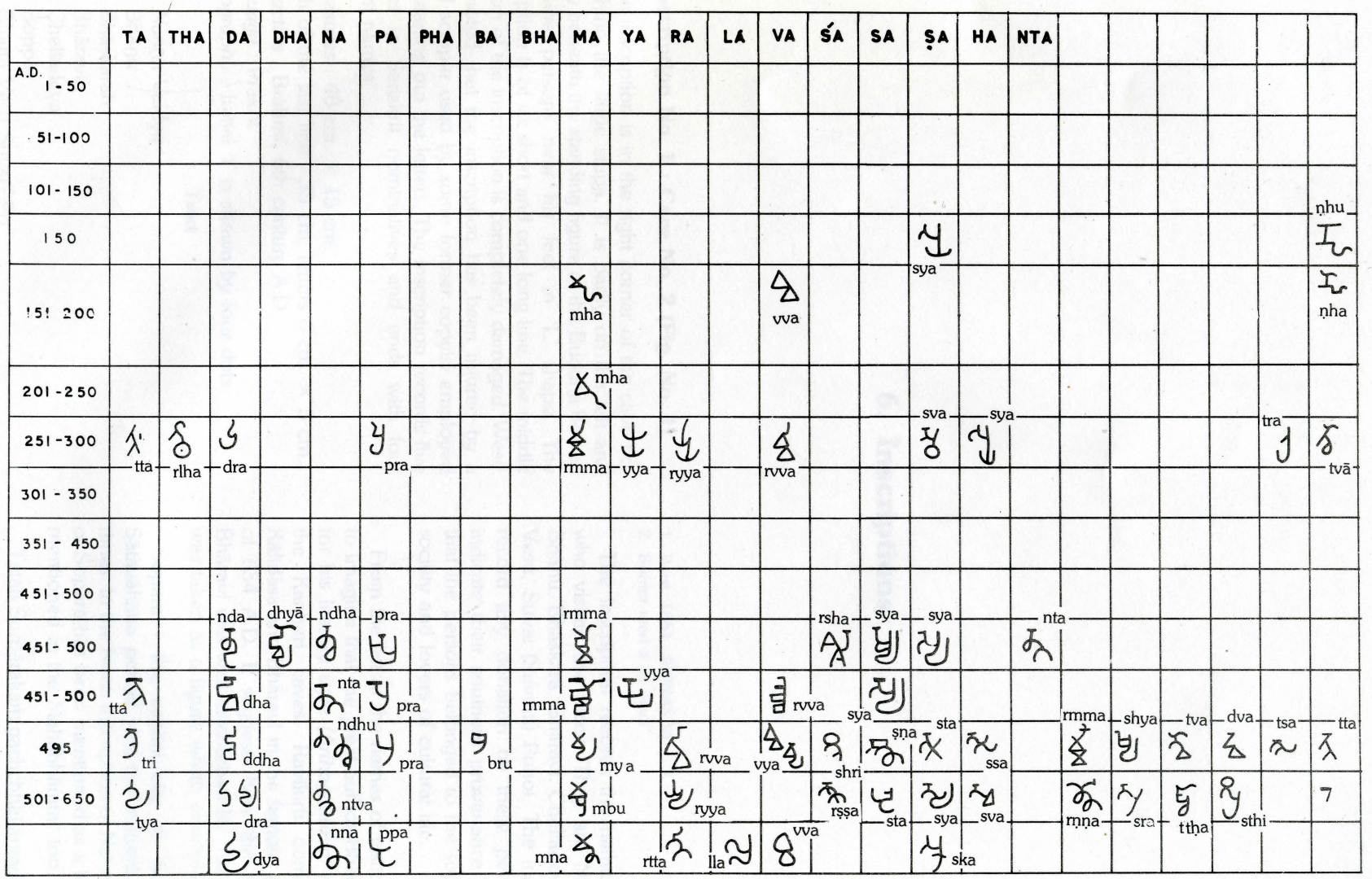
Palaeographical Chart No. 1



Palaeographical Chart No. 2

	A	A	I	Ī	U	Ū	Ē	AI	O	OU	AM	KA	KHA	GA	GHA	CHA	CHHA	JA	JHA	Ñ	ṬA	ṬHA	ḌA	ḌHA	ṆA
A.D. – 1 - 50																									
51-100																									
101-150																									
150																									
151 - 200																									
201 - 250																									
251 – 300												kka		Gra				JJA				ṭṭhu,			nhu
301 – 350																									
351 – 450																									
451 - 500																									
451 – 500												kya													
451 - 500												kṣi													
495												kra						jya		ñchi					
501 - 650												kya, kshi						jra, jña							
																					tta				
												kṣo													

Palaeographical Chart No. 3



Palaeographical Chart No. 4

6. Inscriptions

★ Inscription No. 1 : Cave No. 2 (Fig. No. 1)

The inscription is in the right corner of the cave no. 2 behind the large stupa. It is partly on the left and partly beneath the standing figure of the Buddha bowed by nine persons near his feet in 'L' shape. The inscription is of six short and one long line. The middle portion of the inscription is completely damaged. West[1] has noted that the inscription has been injured by a metal scraper used by some former copyist employed for cleaning out the letters. The inscription records five names in Sanskrit nominatives and ends with four Prakrit names.

It measures : 40 cm. × 15 cm.
length of the last line - 35 cm. letters 6 cm. × 5 cm.
Characters : Brāhmī, 6th century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Initial 'i' is shown by four dots.

Text

L 1 : Naṇṇa Vaidya
L 2 : Bhānu
L 3 : Bhāskarah
L 4 : Bhāravih
L 5 : Chelladeva
L 6 : Boppai
L 7 : Bhaṭṭa Vesu Suvai[2] Po
L 8 : hoi

1. West, 1861, *JBBRAS* VI, p.3.
2. Bühler read it as *'Āvai'*

The inscription records the names of nine persons who visited the place. They are Naṇṇa a physician, Bhānu, Bhāskara, Bhāravi. Chelladeva, Boppai, Bhaṭṭa Vesu, Suvai (Suvrati) Pohoi. The inscription does not record any donation by these persons. The names indicate their southern provenance and they indicate that the persons belonged to the sophisticated class of society and lovers of cultural life.

From the list of the names of visitors one is tempted to imagine that the great author Bhāravi who is known for his literary style *(Arthagaurava)* might have visited the Kanheri caves. Ravikirti compares himself to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in the famous Aihole[3] inscription of 634 A.D. It suggests how the name of the poet Bhāravi was well established by that time and how he was taken as a figure worth emulating.

Sopara - the capital city of *'Sopārāhāra'* in the Sātavāhana period was the cultural centre in ancient times. In the Nasik inscription of Nahapāna, Ramatīrtha[4] of Sopara has been mentioned as a holy place which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[5] too.

Tatah Śurpārakaṁ gachchhejjāmadagnya Niṣevitaṁ !
Rāmatīrthe narah Snātvā vindyad bahusuvarṇakaṁ!

In the Śilāhāra period, the king Aparāditya sent

Inscription No. 1 (*eye copy*), Figure No. 1, Cave No. 2

Tejaṅkaṇṭha from Śurpāraka to the literary conference in Kashmir. It shows the continuous flourishing history of Sopara. There was a great tradition of the cultural contacts between Karnataka and western India. The imposing Chaitya of Karle which was the most excellent in Jambudvīpa[6] was carved by Bhūtapāla of Vaijayanti. Taking into consideration the above evidence it may be surmised that the great poet Bhāravi might have visited Rāmatīrtha of Sopara and then the Buddhist site of Kanheri. Krshnamachariar has noted that the ancestors of Bhāravi lived at Ānandapura in north-western India and migrated later into the country of Nāsikya[7]. On the basis of this supportive evidence it could be surmised that the great poet Bhāravi might have visited Kanheri.

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7. Krishnamachariar M. 1970 *History of Classical Literature* (Delhi) p. 147.

★ Inscription No. 2 : Cave No. 2 (fig. No. 2)

The inscription is on the back wall of cave No. 2 above a long bench set against the wall. It is a deeply cut distinct inscription of two lines, which records the gift of a refectory 'Sata' by Nākaṇaka, inhabitant of Nasik.

It measures 70 cm × 25 cm. Letters 10 cm. × 6 cm.
Characters : Brāhmī, Early part of 2nd century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The vertical stroke of the letter 'ka' has a curve at the bottom.

Text

L1. Nāsikakasa Nāka –
L2. ṇakasa sata deyadhama

Translation

A refectory (Sata) by Nāgaṇaka (Nākaṇaka), inhabitant of Nasik.

According to Burgess[1] the word *'Sata'* is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit word *'Sadah'* - seat. Nagaraju has rightly interpreted the word 'Sata' as the centre of free distribution of food and water for the resident monks or more probably for the pilgrims who came to visit the holy Chaitya hall which is situated just by the side of this cave[2].

1. Burgess, J. 1970 *The cave of Elura and other Brahmanical Jaina Caves in Western India. ASWI* (Delhi) p. 74.
2. Nagaraju S. 1979 *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* VI p. 44.

★ Inscription No. 3 : cave no. 2 (fig. no.3)

The inscription is in cave No. 2 near a small tank. It measures 90 cm. × 25 cm. Letters 6 cm. × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd century A.D.;
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letter 'ya' in the second line is engraved in a small size and it is slightly damaged.

Text

1. Kaliyaṇa (ṇa) suvaṇako (kā) rasa sāmida
2. tasa saha sagha (ghe) na paniya[1]ka deyadhamma

Translation

A cistern, the meritorious gift of the goldsmith sāmidaā (svāmidatta) of Kalyan together with the community of ascetics and lay-brothers.

1. Bühler has put the letter *'ya'* into bracket but the letter *'ya'* is quite visible in the inscription.

+ Inscription no. 4 : cave no. 2 (fig. no. 4.)

The present inscription is not included in the Lüder's list. West and Burgess also have not noted it. It is in front of the Cave No. 2. just above the cistern. It is published by Nagaraju[1] in the *journal of the Epigraphical Society of India.* It measures 2.38 m. × 99 cm. Letters 5.5 cm. × 4 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The conical letters are written in rounded shape and rounded letters are written in conical shape.

Text

L1. Kalianasa negamasa Chita
L2. Kiyasa Punavasuya tasa poḍhi deyadhamam

Translation

This is the meritorious gift of a cistern by Punavasu, the son of a trader Chita from Kalyan.

1. Nagaraju S. 1979 *Journal of Epigraphical Society of India,* VI p. 44.

★ Inscription No. 5 cave no. 3 (fig. no. 5)

The inscription is on the right hand gate post of the Chaitya cave No. 3. It measures 2.30 m × 1 m. Letters 10 cm. × 5 cm.

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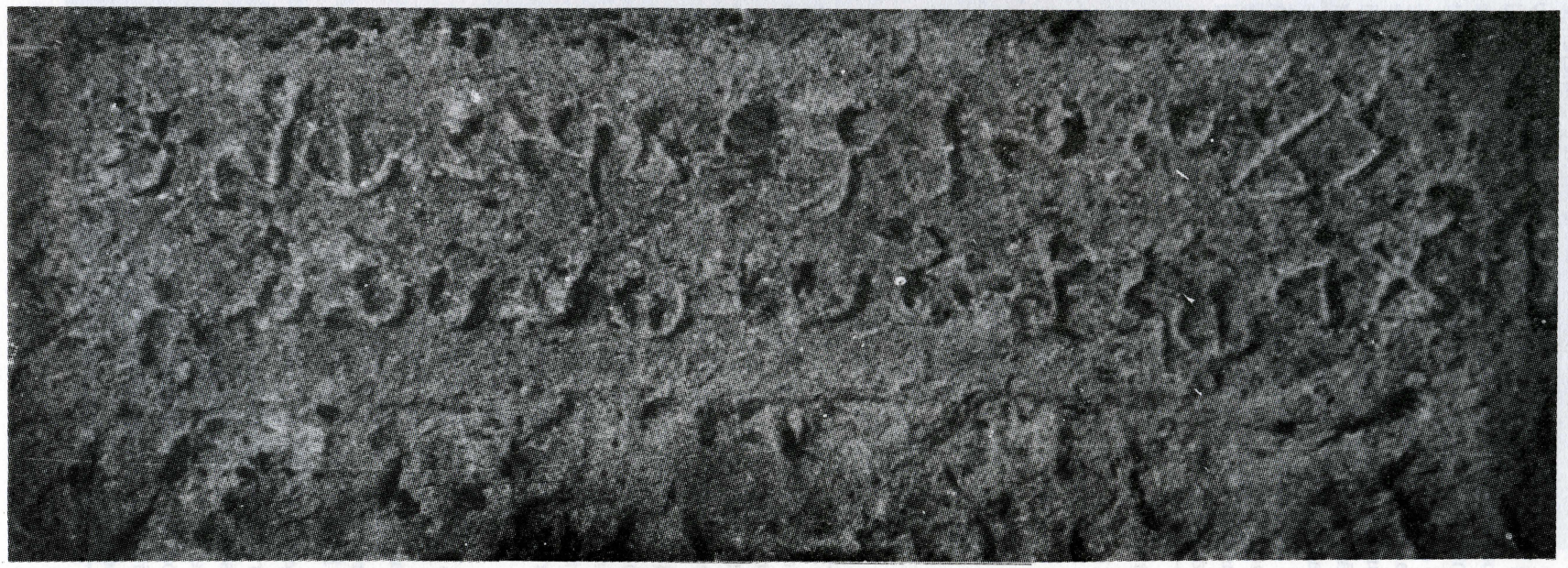
Inscription No. 2, Figure No. 2, Cave No. 2



Inscription No. 3, Figure No. 3, Cave No. 2

Inscription No. 4, Figure No. 4, Cave No. 2

Inscription No. 5, Figure No. 5, Cave No. 3

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd century A.D.
Language : Prākrit
Orthography : The letters are bold, and written in Nasik style.

Text

L 1 Raño Gotam (iputasa Sāmi-Siri Yaṇasa)
L 2 Sotakaṁṇissa (Saṁvachare . . . . . gi)
L 3 mhapakhe paṁchame (5 divase . . . . .)
L 4 Vāṇijakehi utu (. . . . . .)
L 5 ṇuya upaṁnehi gā (. . . . . .)
L 6 khātiyehi bhātuhi ( )
L 7 Gajasenena Gajami (tena)
L 8 Kapaṭhāyi Cheti (ya . . . . . .)
L 9 āchariyāṇaṁ nikā (yasa . . . . . Bhādāya)
L 10 nīyānaṁ parigahe pa (tiṭhāpitaṁ . . . . . mā)
L 11 tapitu[1]naṁ abhatītā (naṁ) . . . . . .)
L 12 Pūjāya kuṭuṁbini (na bāla) Kānaṁ [2]bāli (kānaṁ)
L 13 savatasa bhāgineyāna nik (ā) yasa nāti)
L 14 vagasa cha aga paṭiasiya savvasa (tānaṁ)
L 15 cha hitasukhāya[3] hetu (I) etha cha nave . . . .)
L 16 Kā pavajito therā bhadata Achala Bhadaṁ (ta)
L 17 Gahala bhadaṁta-Vijayamita bhadata Bo (dhiko)
L 18 bhadata Dhamapālā Upasako cha negamo Ā (nada)
L 19 puto Apareṇuko samāpitā (I) achari (y) āna therāṇaṁ
L 20 bhadata seūṁlānaṁ siseṇa uparakhitana bha
L 21 data Bodhikena kata selavaḍhakīhi (nāya) kami
L 22 sehi kaḍhichak (e) hi Mahākaṭak (e) hi Khadara
L 23 kina cha miṭhikenā

1) Long 'u' is to be noted.
2) At present these letters are not in existence.
3) Bühler has not read the letter 'cha'.

Translation

1) of king Gotam (. . . . . .)
2) of sotakaṁṇi (in the sum)
3) mer season, the fifth fortnight ( )
4) by merchants in the season ( )
5) born in from . . . nu in the town . . . .)
6 and 7) by excavator brothers ( ) Gajasena, Gajamita.
8) lasting for an aeon, a chaitya
9) for elders of the sect (of Bhādāya)
10 and 11) niyas in the possession has been (established of mot) ther and father deceased . . . .)
12) in their honour, of wives, sons, daughters
13) for the group of sisters' sons
14) and for the class of blood relatives in proportion to their shares, from first to last and of all creatures.
15) for the sake of their benefit and happiness and here a new . . .)
16) an ascetic, a thera, the reverend Achala, the reverend
17) Gahala, the reverend Vijayamita the reverend Bo (dhika)
18) The reverend Dhammapāla, and the lay-worshipper, the merchant
19) Aparaṇuka, the son of Ā (nanda) have completed by the pupil
20) of the teacher (and) thera Seūṁla, who was supervising, the reverend
21) Bodhi, (the work) was done together with stonemasons..?
22) and . . . , great workers,
23) and the polisher khadaraki

The inscription is important from various points of view :

i) It records the name of the Sātavāhana king Gotam who might be Yajñaśrī Sātakarni.

ii) The chaitya was excavated by the two brothers Gajasena and Gajamita for the elders of Bhadrāvaniya sect.

iii) The inscription records the names of Buddhist monks. Thera Achala, Gahala, Vijayamita. Bo (dhika). Dhammapāla, Seūṁla

iv) There are following architectural terms viz. 1) Uparakhita-overseer 2) Selavaḍhaki - Stone-mason 3) Kaḍhichaka – Artisan 4) Miṭhika-Polisher. The word 'vaḍhaki' is noteworthy. The word 'Baḍhai' is still in use in Hindi where as the word Vāḍhi is used in Marathi. Mahākaṭaka - great worker (Nava) kamis leader of workmen.

The Bhadrāvaṇiya sect is mentioned in the inscription (cave no. 50)

West has correctly restored the reading (Bhadāya) ṇiyānaṁ L.9. The inscription in cave No. 50 records the maritorious gift to the Bhadrāvaṇiya sect in L.2. Burgess has already pointed out that the wording of the inscription in cave no.50 may be compared with the present inscription (L.10-15). He has rightly conjectured *'Kammaṁ'* after *'Nava'*. which must have been followed by the name of pavajita, the last syllable of whose name 'ka' is preserved in L.16. From the description it appears that the construction of the Kanheri Chaitya was begun by the merchants Gajasena and Gajamita and was completed by the persons named in L.15, 19 viz. 1) Pavajita - Thera bhadanta - Achala 2) Bhadanta Gahala 3) Bhadanta Vijayamita 4) Bhadanta Bo (dhiko) 5) Bhadanta Dhamapāla 6) Ānandaputa Apareṇuka.

The name Ānaḍa (L.18) can be restored as he is mentioned in the inscription No.15 (L.3.4) alongwith his son Apareṇuka and his relatives.

My thanks are due to Prof. Van Nooten, Berkeley University for suggesting the right meanings of the words *'Khātiye'* Excavators Mahākaṭaka workers who were working on walls screening plastering etc.

Kamisa – leader of workmen – Franklin Edgerton 1970 (Varanasi) Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary Vol. II p. 164.

★ Inscription No. 6 : cave no. 3 (fig. no. 6)

The inscription is on the left hand gate post of the Chaitya Cave No. 3 : It measures 1.43m × 1.7m Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : letters are bold and similar to those of the inscription of Nahapāna

Text

L 1 . . . . . Khabhālakaresu adha.
L 2 . . . . . a (ka - -) ch (e) tiasa bha
L 3 ( ) . . . . Lakārasa ... (Pa) vayitāṇa ya
L 4 . . . akhayanivi (da) tā Sopārakāvihāre ha
L 5 (Lāni[1])[1] ṇi 3 kalia (ṇe) Abālikāvihāre cheti
L 6 upaṭhāṇasāl (ā) ovarakāni patiṭhāṇevihā
L 7 tigupasadari (ya) chetiaghara ovarakā terasa
L 8 sa-akhayanivikā Rājatalāka Païṭhāṇapathe
L 9 saṇa chulika - ya kuṭi koḍhi cha khaṇi[2] ta sada
L10 Sevājuya (vihā) re saghāramo sa-akhayaniviko kā
L11 - rāpito pu (ña) ṭha deyadhamāni cha anāni pi (kāri) tāni

1) the letters lāni are faintly visible.
2) Bühler has read it *'choṇitā'*

This inscription appears to record, besides a benefaction at Kanheri, various meritorious gifts which the donor bestowed at other places on the monks. The fragments permit us to recognise the following details :

1. Some addition seems to have been made to the chaitya at Kanheri (L-2)
2. A perpetual endowment, the purpose and nature of which have been lost, was given (L-3)
3. In the district of Sopara (Sopārakāhāre) three (possibly cells) were added to some building (L 4. 5).
4. In the Ambālikāvihāra situated at Kalyan a chaitya, a hall of reception (upaṭhānasālā) and cells for the monks (ovaraka) were built. (L 5, 6).
5. At Paithan a Chaityagriha and thirteen cells for the monks (ovaraka terasa) together with a perpetual endowment (akhayanivikā) were given (L. 6, 8)
6. In the taluka of Paithan, called Rājatalāka (?) a meditation-room (Kuṭi) and a residential room (Koḍhi) were erected at the vihāra of sevuju (?) (L 8-10)
7. A monastery (saghāramo) was built (kārāpito) and endowed with a perpetual grant (akhayanivi). These and other meritorious gifts were made, for his own benefit (pu(ñatha).

★ Inscription No. 7 : cave no. 3 (fig. no. 7)

The inscription is under the standing figure of the Buddha, on the inside of the outer wall of the verandah between the left gate-post and the left colossal figure of the Buddha. The inscription is of three lines. It refers to the carving of the image of the Buddha below which it is set and the inscription states that the image was made by the Śākya Bhikṣu Buddhaghoṣa, who was the disciple of Dharmavasta. It measures 1 × 2.5 Letters 5 cm. × 3 cm.
Characters : Brāhmi, fifth century A.D.
Language : Sanskrit
Orthography : Nail-headed Variety of Brāhmī. The medial 'i' is shown by a ring. In conjunct the hooked variety of 'ya' is observed.

Text

L 1 Buddhasya Bhagavatsśāsanānukāritrai-piṭakopāddhyāya
L 2 Bhadanta Dharmmavatsa-śishyasya (Śākya)[1] BhikṣorBuddhaghoṣasya
L 3 Mahāgandhakuṭivārikasya Bhagavat-pratimeyaṁ deyadharmmaḥ

Translation

This image of Bhagavat Buddha is the meritorious gift of the ascetic śākya Buddhaghoṣa, the guardian of the great *Gandhakuṭi* and the pupil of the reverend Dharmmavatsa, a teacher of the three piṭakas and the follower of the religion of the divine Buddha.

1. Bühler has not read the word *'Śākya'*.

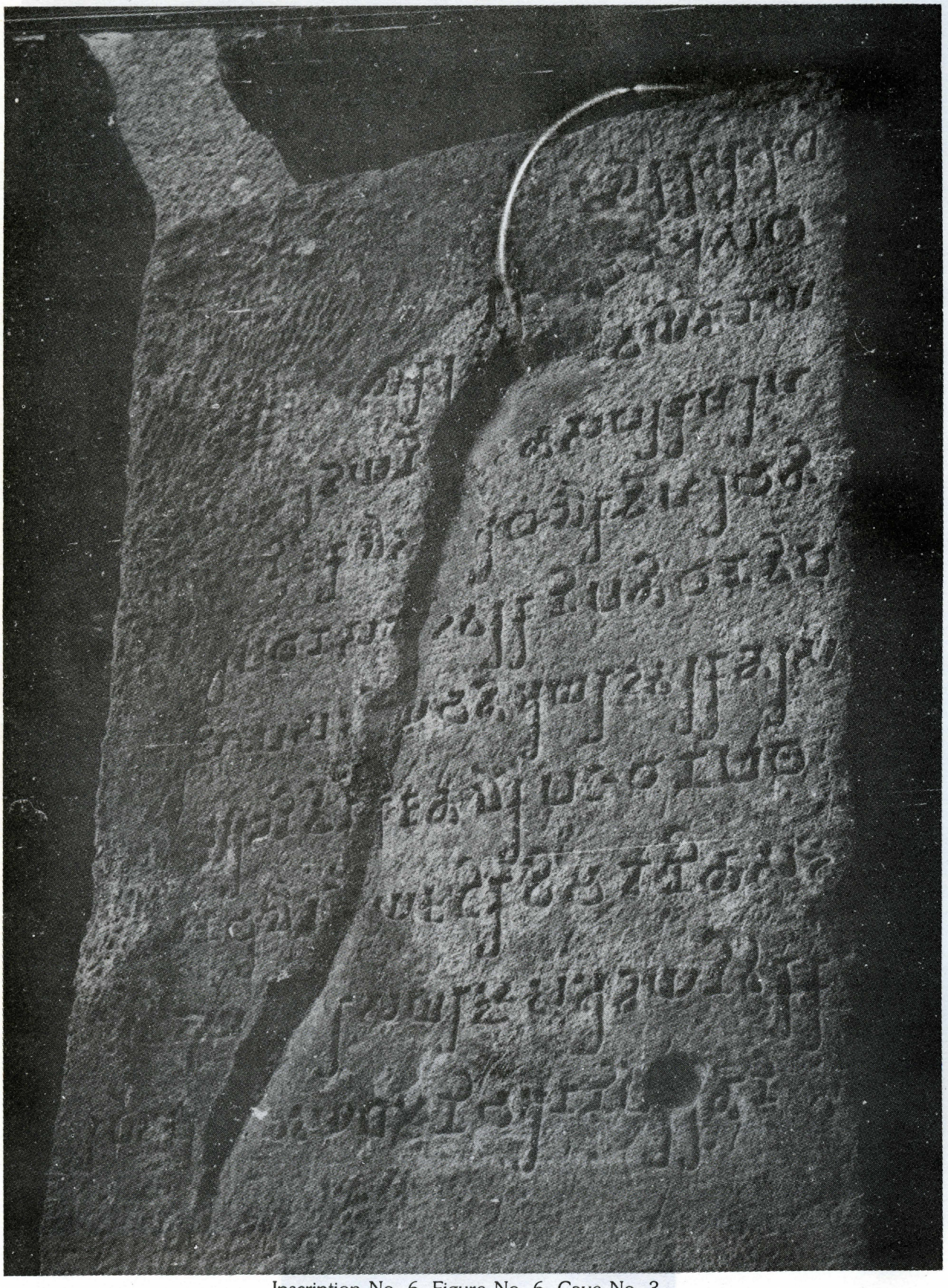
★ Inscription No. 8 : cave no. 3. (fig. no. 8)

The inscription is under another sitting figure of the Buddha in *'Pralambapādāsana'* and *Dharmachakramudrā* in the verandah of Cave No. 3. It measurs 99 cm. × 10 cm. Letters 6.5 cm. × 4.5 cm.

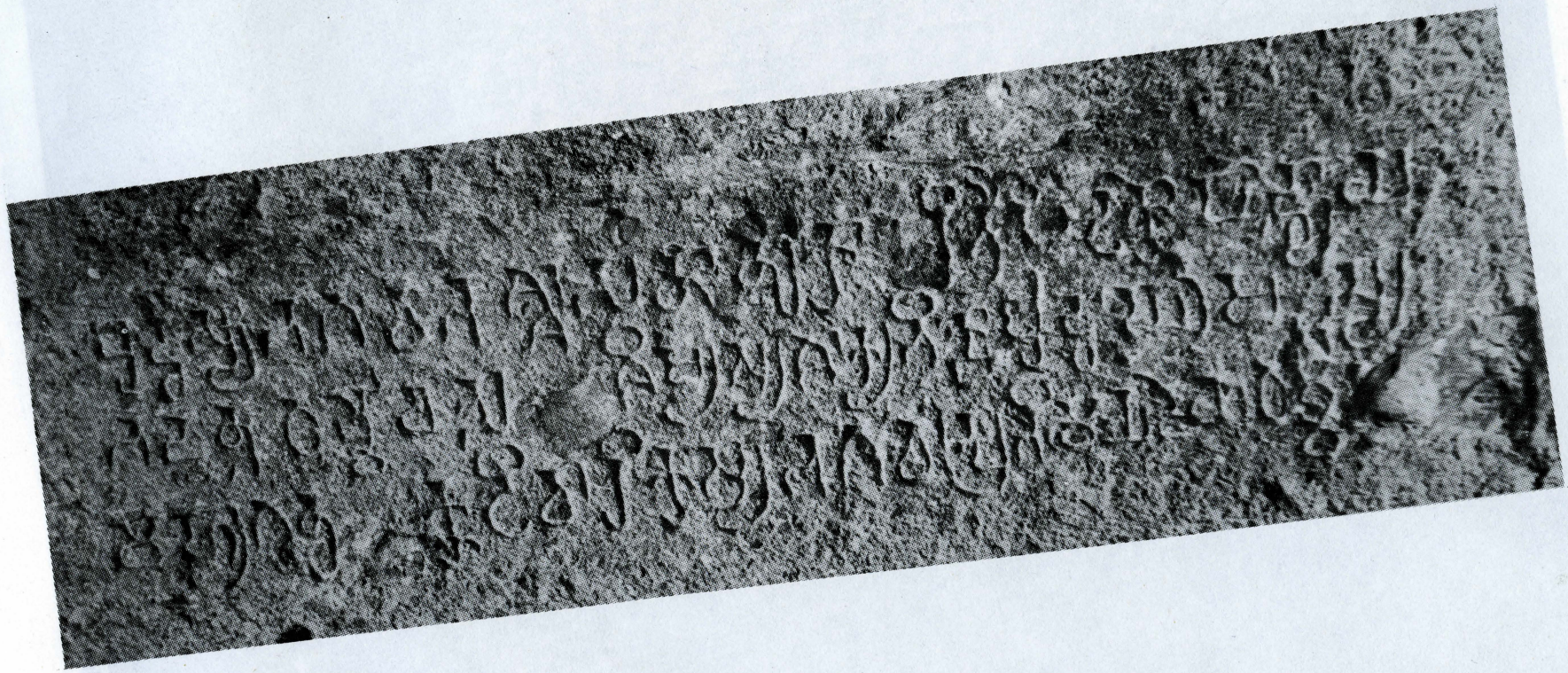
Characters : Brāhmī, 5th century A.D.
Language : Sanskrit
Orthography : The letters show the resemblance with the letters of the inscription of Varāhadeva at Ajanta, cave no. 16.

Text

L 1 Deyadharmmoyaṁ Śākya-bhiksho (r) Dharmmaguptsya



Inscription No. 6, Figure No. 6, Cave No. 3



Inscription No. 7, Figure No. 7, Cave No. 3

Inscription No. 8, Figure No. 8, Cave No. 3

Translation

This (is) the meritorious gift of the śākya monk Dharmagupta. The monk specifically has mentioned his Śākya clan.

★ Inscription No. 9 : Cave No. 3 (Fig. no. 9)

The inscription is of nine lines, cut into a pilaster on the right side of the standing Buddha which is sculptured inside the small chamber to the left side of the entrance of the cave No. 3. It measures 19 cm. × 12 cm. Letters 3 cm. × 1.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 5th Century A.D.

Language : Sanskrit

Orthography : The letters are written in the nail-headed variety of Brāhmī

Text

L 1 Deyadha
L 2 rmmoyaṁ ā
L 3 chāryya
L 4 Buddhara
L 5 kṣitasya
L 6 anena
L 7 Sarvasa
L 8 tvā Buddhā
L 9 bhavantu

Translation

This is the meritorious gift of the teacher Buddharakṣita. May all living beings thereby become Buddhas. This is the only inscription at Kanheri which mentions, "May all living beings become the Buddhas". Similar expression occurs in the Ajanta inscriptions.[1]

[1]Yazdani G. 1983 (Reprint). *Ajanta (Delhi) IV, p.111*

★ Inscription No. 10 : Cave No. 3, (Fig. no. 10)

The inscription is engraved on a small bas-relief dagoba on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah of the Chaitya. Cave No. 3. The inscription is distinctly cut but the rock is somewhat honeycombed. It measures 35 cm. × 14 cm. Letters 6.5 cm. × 3.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 5th Century A.D.

Language : Sanskrit

Orthography : the letters show nail-headed variety of Brāhmī.

Text

L 1 Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā teṣāṁ (Tathāgato
L 2 hyavadat teṣāṁ cha ye ṇiroḍha evaṁvādi Mahaśrama)ṇah – *Mahāyānasutrasaṅgraha*

Translation

All things are born of casuation (and their cause has been told by the Tathāgata and the great Muni tells that their cessation takes place thus.)

△ Inscription No. 11

The inscription is in white paint on the octogonal column in Cave No. 3. It measures 26 cm. × 35 cm. Letters 5 cm. × 4 cm.

Characters : Proto Nāgari, 10th Century A.D.

Language : Prakrit.

Text

L 1 samvat 921 Asvi
L 2 na suddha 7 mi
L 3 ka suta vata

Translation

The inscription is dated in Aśvin suddha 7 samvat 921. A similar inscription occurs on the next face of the column and two others on the two faces of the column on the opposite side of the doorway and are not legible.

△ Inscription No. 12

The inscription of three lines is on a square stone. It measures 5.9 cm. × 2.5 cm.

West has noted that the inscription was found lying on the outside terrace under the tree in front of the Chaitya Cave No. 3. It was in the possession of Dr. Wilson.

The Bombay Gazetteer[1] has noted that it is the 7th inscription near Cave No. 3. The letters are of 5th or 6th century and the inscription is about the building of a house (Chetiyaghara). The name of the person who built the house is doubtful. The inscription could not be traced.

Characters : Brāhmī, 5th Century A.D.

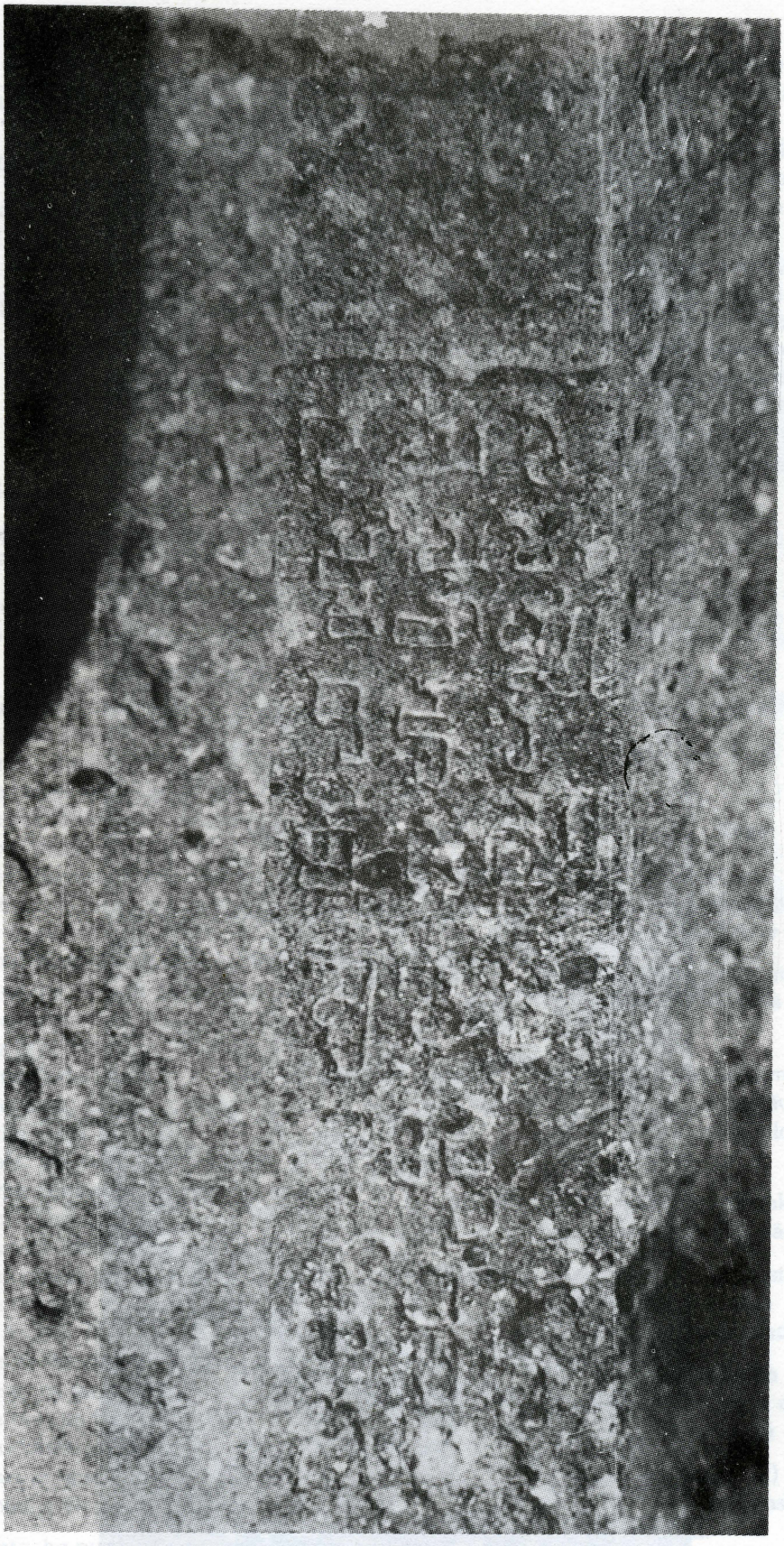
Language : Prakrit

Orthography : Medial 'i' is shown by a ring, 'ta' and 'na' are distinctly written.

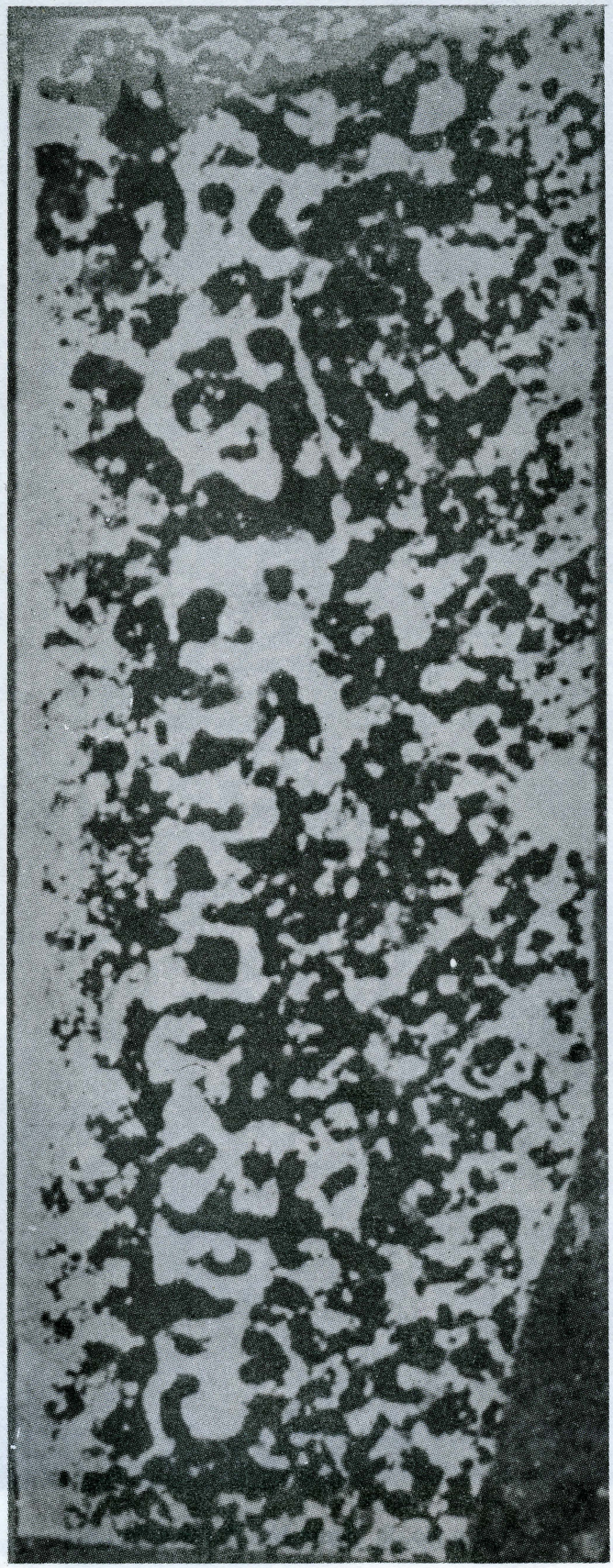
Text

L 1 hita ja buddhi na
L 2 rena cha imi
L 3 yaghara kārita

The record refers to the building of Chaitya of bricks



Inscription No. 9, Figure No. 9, Cave No. 3



Inscription No. 10, Figure No. 10, outside Cave No. 3

which is in front of Cave No. 3.

[1]Bombay Gazetteer (1882), Vol.XIV, p.169.

+ Inscription No. 13

West has noted that the inscription is of two lines written on a small square stone found near Cave No. 3. The whereabouts of the inscription are not known.

Characters : Brāhmī, 6th Century A.D.

Text

L 1 : Ka a Kava
L 2 : ttehi

+ Inscription No. 14

Traikūṭaka Copper Plate : found in front of the Cave No. 3 : (Fig. no. 11)

The copper-plate was found by Dr. James Bird in 1839. The following is his own account of the discovery.[1]

"Immediately in front of the large cave and on a ledge of the mountain some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small stupas or monumental receptacles for the bones of the buddha or Arhat built of cut stones at the base. These were once of a pyramidal shape, but are now much dilapidated, and appear like a heap of stones. Several years ago, I thought of opening some of them in expectation of obtaining coins or other relics but found no favourable opportunity until lately, when several lengthened visits in company with Dr. Heddle gave me the desired means of doing so. The largest of the topes selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve or sixteen feet in height. It was much delapidated and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone. after digging to the level of the ground and clearing away the materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsm. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were some ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold, and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth; in the other, a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper-plates containing legible inscriptions in the cave characters, accompanied the urns, and these, as far as I have yet been able to decipher them, inform us that the persons buried here were of the Buddhist faith. The smaller of the copper-plates bears an inscription in two lines, the last part of which contains the Buddhist creed."

Of the larger plate, he published a small lithograph in his *Historical Researches*, a copy of which he seems to have sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it was reproduced with a number of additional mistakes, and an interlinear transcription in Devanagari and accompanied with what was called a 'Literal translation' by a Calcutta Babu, this was so non-sensical, however, that no one could accept it as a translation. Failing to get a loan of the plate itself, Stevenson[2] of Bombay attempted to revise Bird's copy and to a certain extent succeeded but he made serious errors in the translation. Using his copy as a basis Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji ingeniously suggested some amendments in the copy, working scarcely any marked changes in the shapes of the letters and then transliterated in the intelligible Sanskrit.[3] Mirashi examined the eye-copy and the lithograph but made some minor corrections.[4]

References

1 *Jour. As. Soc. Beng;* 1841 Vol.X, Pt.I, p.94.
2 *JBBRAS Vol.V, Pl.16, p.56.*
3 Burgess and Bhagawanlal Indraji : 1976 (Reprint), *Inscriptions of Western India with Descriptive notes*, p.58.
4 Mirashi, V.V. : 1955 : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol.IV, Part I, pp.29-32

Characters : Brāhmī, of 494/495 A.D.

Language : Sanskrit

Text

L 1. Namssarvvajñāyaya Trikuṭakanā[ṁ] pravardhamānaraj[jye]saṁvatsarashatadvaye pañchachatvāriṁśaduttare kṛṣṇāgirimahāvihare –

L 2. Sindhuviṣayāntarggatagramikāṇakavāstavya (:) Suprabhāyāh Buddhaśriyā Puṣyavarmaṇaschà putro daśabalabali –

L 3. no Bhagavatshāshākyamunessamyakasaṁbuddh asya taddharmmaśrāvakayyabha (Bhi)kṣo charaṇaparicharaṇakuśalo Buddaruchiri –

L 4. daṁ tasyaiva paramamuneragryaśrāvakasyāryaśāradvatīputras ya- chaitya[ṁ] ghaṭita pāṣaṇeṣṭikābhirācha –

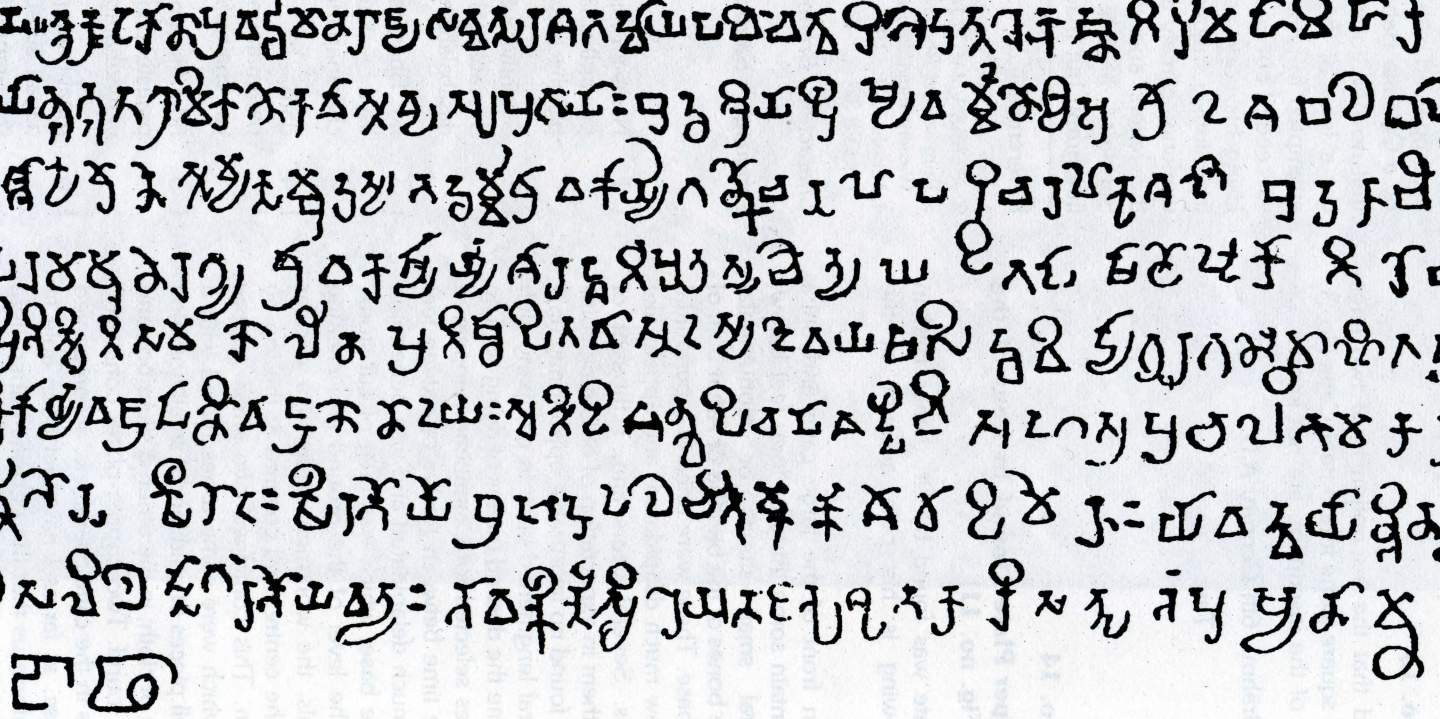
L 5. ndrārkkarṇnava kṣitisthitisamakālinana [ṁ] pratiṣthāpitavanstadasya devayakṣasiddha vidyādharagaṇamaṇibhadrapu

L 6. ṃṇabhadrapañchikāryya vajrapāṇivāṅkaṇa [ka] dayah svasti disantvapi cha [i] yava dvichi [chi] sahasraprachalitamakarā –

L 7. ghūurnitāvartatoya (:) ksirodah kshiratoyo bṛhadupalachita karkkasho vāpi Meruh yāva [dvā] yānti nadya.

L 8. ssuvimalasalilassāgaraṁ toyavatyah tāvat kirttih

Copper Plate Inscription from Kanheri.
(Copied from Dr. J. Bird's "Historical Researches")



Inscription No. 11, Figure No. 11, found infront of Cave No. 3

sthireya [ṁ] bhajatu śubhakarī satsutaṁ Puṣyanāmnaḥ Dāḍhā

Translation

Lines 1 - 4 Obeisance to the Omniscient (Buddha). In the augmenting kingdom of the Traikūṭakas in the year two hundred increased by forty-five. In the Great monastery at Kṛṣṇagiri, Buddharuchi a resident of the village Kānaka, included in the Sindhu Viṣaya (district) – the son of the glorious Buddhaśrī and Puṣyavarman who took serving the feet of the holy Śākya sage who was mighty the possession of the ten powers and attained complete enlightenment (and) of the venerable monk who heard his law, has erected this Chaitya with dressed stones and bricks to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure (which is) dedicated to the venerable śāradvatiputra, the chief disciple of the same great sage (i.e. Buddha).

Line 5 – Therefore may gods Yakṣas[1], siddhas[2], Vidyādharas[3], gaṇas, Manibhadras[4], Purṇabhadras[5], Pañchika[6], the venerable Vajrapāṇi[7], Vaṅkaṇaka[8] and others bless it.

Line 6 – Moreover, as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirl-pools of which are whirled by the alligators tossed about by thousands of (its) waves is an ocean of milk, as long as the rugged Meru is piled with huge rocks, as long as rivers of very clear water flow with (their) water into the ocean – even so long may this lasting and auspicious fame resort to the excellent son of him (who is) named Puṣya.

Line 9 – A canine tooth.

1 A Yakṣa is a semi divine being, an attendant of Kubera.
2 A Siddha is a person possessed of eight supernatural powers, aṇimā and others.
3 A Vidyādhara is a supernatural being dwelling in the Himalayas.
4 A Maṇibhadra, is a follower of Maṇibhadra, the brother of Kubera the prince of Yakṣa.
5 Purṇabhadra is the name of a Yakṣa, the father of Harikeśa.
6 Pañchika is the chief of the generals of Kubera of Vaiśravaṇa.
7 Vajrapāṇī (Thunderbolt bearer) is in Buddhist records sometimes identified with and sometimes differentiated from śakra, the lord of Gods.
8 He is perhaps the follower of Vaṅkaṇa – (the deity of the Vaṅka mountain).

The copper plate is interesting from various points of view. The Buddhist stupas were erected at different places over the bodily remains[1] of the Buddha but soon the practice came to be adopted in the case of some of his outstanding followers such as Sāriputra and Maudgalāyana'. Sāriputra was the advocator of *Abhidhammapiṭaka'*. According to the orthodox views *'Abhidhammapiṭaka'* was first preached in the abode of Tāvatiṁśa gods by the Buddha primarily to his mother who had already departed there and then it was repeated by him on the banks of the Anotatta lake to Sarīputa, who in turn taught the same to his colleagues in holy life. *'Abhidhamma'* is a totality of psychological and philosophical[2] teachings of Buddhism.

The donor Buddharuchi might be a student of *'Abhidhammapiṭaka'* which treats the teachings of the Buddha in a scholastic and highly technical manner. Unfortunately the copper plate does not mention the scholastic merits of Buddharuchi and we do not know whether he was a monk or a lay person.

On the basis of this inscription, it could be inferred that Kanheri was a centre of Buddhist higher education in 494/495 A.D.

So far this plate was considered as the last known evidence of the Traikūṭaka house. but the discovery of the two copper-plates of the king Madhyamasena[3] (dated in K.256 = 505/506) and the king Vikramasena[4] (dated in K.284 – 533-34 A.D.) have removed the enigmatic phase in the history of the Traikūṭakas. Madhyamasena issued the copper-plates from the Victorious Aniruddhapura and claims to be the lord of Aparañta. He donated a village Maṇḍikalani in the Tālikaṭāhāra to a Brāhmaṇa named śivasvāmī of the Kauṇḍiṇya gotra. Tālikaṭākāra is no other than Talghat which enjoyed strategic position and commanded full control over the passes coming from Sopara, Nasik and Naneaghat. Maṇḍikalani might be a small village. Manivali, 6 miles west of Murbad, Thana district. Another point which may be taken into consideration is, Madhyamasena issued the plates eleven years after the Kanheri inscription. In the interregnum period of eleven years, the victorious Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa might have occupied the Aparānta region. In the inscription of Varāhadeva[5] in Cave No. 16 at Ajantā the verse No. 18 describes the names of countries conquered by Hariṣeṇa. The verse is in Vaṁsástha metre. It is as follows :

sa/kunta/lāvanti/kaliṅga/kosala
Trikūṭa/Lāṭāndhra/parānta/Jānimā/n/

After the letters *'Lāṭāndhra'* the inscription is completely damaged. But the letters could be restored on the basis of the essentials of the Vaṁśastha metre. For the sake of metre, the poet must have used the

word *'Parānta'* instead of 'Aparānta' which carries the same meaning in Sanskrit. This is the authentic epigraphic evidence of the victory of the Vākāṭaka king Harişena over Aparānta. The Traikūṭakas who had their own coinage were controlling the coastal trade, under the overlordship of the victorious Vākātaka king Harişena, the Traikūṭakas were augmenting their kingdom and thus the absence of the name of the ruling king in the copper plate at Kanheri may be justified. The vākāṭaka phase was temporary and there was revival of the Traikūṭaka power in 505/506 A.D. is proved by the Matvan plates of Madhyamasena.

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★ Inscription No. 15 : Cave No. 4 (Fig.No.12)

The inscription is of three lines and two letters cut into one side of the square stepped out top of the dagoba in the small circular chamber just to the left side of the chaitya.

Length of Line No.1 – 67 cm × 6 cm.
Length of Line No.2 – 67 cm × 5.6 cm.
Length of Line No.3 – 56 cm × 5 cm.
Length of Line No.4 – 8 cm × 5 cm.

Characters :Brāhmī, 2nd century A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : In Line 3 'dha' is peculiarly shown with a line in the letter.

Text

L 1 Siddham heraṇikasa Dhamaṇakasa bhayā[1]
L 2 Sivapālitanikāya deyadhaṁma
L 3 therāna bhayata Dhaṁmapālānaṁ
L 4 thuba

Translation

Success ! The Stupa of the Thera, the reverend Dhammapāla (Dharmapāla), the meritorious gift of sivapālitanikā, the wife of the goldsmith Dhamaṇaka.

Bühler has noted that West's facsimile reads 'Bhayāa' in the first line where as Pandit Bhagawanlal omits the final 'a'. Pandit Bhagawanlal's reading is correct as there is no final 'a'.

1 At present, this letter is not visible.

★ Inscription No. 16 : Cave No. 5 (Fig.No.13)

The inscription is over two water-tanks on the path up the hill. The condition of the inscription is very bad due to water coming over on it in rainy season. The inscription measures 3 m. × 30 cm. Letters 10 cm × 5 cm.

Characters :Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.

Language :Sanskrit

Orthography :The letters 'ka' and 'ra' are shown with a long vertical line, with a curve to the right. The letter 'ya' is shown by segmented or double curve.

Text

L 1 (Va) sishṭh (i) putrasya śri Sāta (kar(n)i (s)ya devyā (ḥ) Kārdamakarājavaṁśapra (bha)v (ā) y (a) mahā kshatra(pa) Ru (p) utry (āḥ) ....

L 2 . . . . . sya . . . . V (i) śaāsyasya amātyasya śāterakasya pāniyabhājanaṁ deyadharm (m) a (hi)

Of the queen . . . . of the illustrious Sātakarṇi Vāsisṭhiputra, descended from the race of Kārddamaka king (and) daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Ru (dra) . . . . . of the confidential minister sāteraka, a water-cistern, 'the meritorious gift'.

The inscription is very important as it records the relationship between the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣatrapas. The restorations are perfectly certain and the name of the Mahākṣatrapa was Rudra. Bühler has rightly inferred that Vāsisthiputra Sātakarni was the son-in-law of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman.

At present, the inscription is in bad condition and many letters are not in existence.

1 *Ind Ant* XII, p.272.

★ Inscription No. 17 : Cave No. 7 (Fig.No.14)

The inscription is above the tank to the left hand end of Cave No.7. It is deeply cut and distinct. There is swastika at the beginning of the inscription. It measures 45 cm. × 70 cm. Letters 11 cm. × 9 cm.

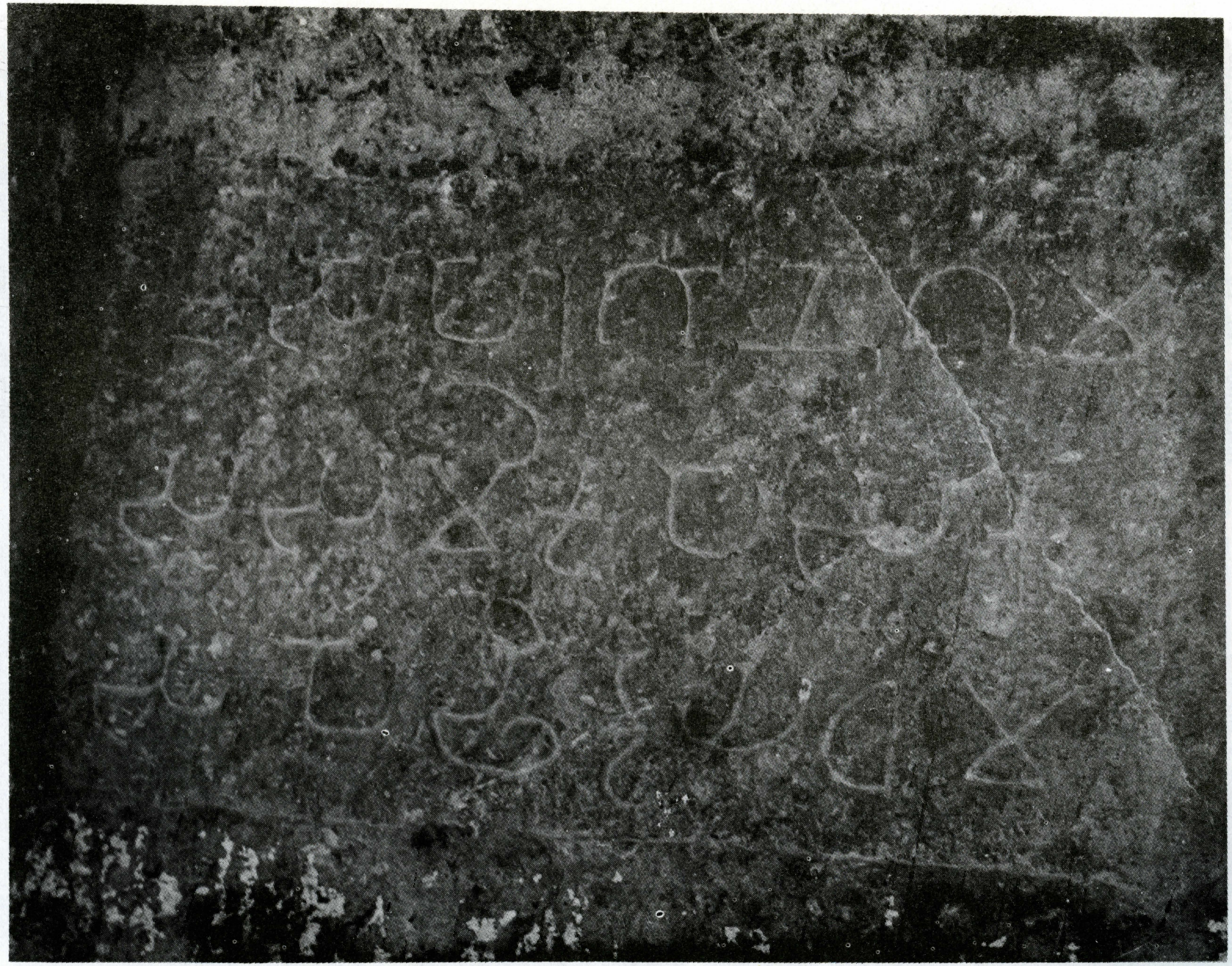
Characters :Brāhmī, early 2nd century A.D.

Language :Prakrit

Orthography :The medial 'u' is shown by a little curve

Inscription No. 15, Figure No. 12, Cave No. 4

Inscription No. 16, Figure No. 13, Cave No. 5



Inscription No. 17, Figure No. 14, Cave No. 7

in the word *'svāmikupāsaka'* in line No.2.

Text

L 1 Soparaga negama
L 2 Sa Sāmikupāsaka
L 3 Sa Poḍhi deyadhama

Translation

A water tank, the meritorious gift of the lay-worshipper Sāmika, a merchant of Sopara.

★ Inscription No.18 : Cave No.7 (Fig.No.15)

The inscription is above the water tank, close to the inscription No. 17. It measures 75 cm. × 45 cm. Letters 7 cm. × 7 cm.

Characters :Brāhmī, 2nd century A.D.
Language :Prakrit
Orthography :The letter 'da' is shown by the archaic form. Whereas the letters 'sa', 'pa', 'ha', 'ya' show the round forms. The letter 'la' is having a long vertical stroke.

Text

L 1 Chemulakasa heraṇikasa
L 2 Rohiṇimitasa putasa
L 3 Sulasadatasa poḍhi
L 4 deyadhaṁam

Translation

A water cistern, the meritorious gift of Sulasadatta, son of the goldsmith Rohiṇimitra of Chemul (modern Chaula in Raigad district, Maharashtra).

△ Inscription No. 19 : Opposite Cave No. 7 (Fig.No.16)

The inscription of two lines is on the back of a bench on the north side of the nulla opposite cave No.7. At present, the letters of the inscription are illegible. It measures 74 cm. × 47 cm. Letters 5 cm. × 6 cm.

Characters :Brāhmi, 2nd Century A.D.
Language :Prakrit
Orthography :It appears that there is no distinction between 'ta' and 'na'.

Text

L 1 - - - bhayata sama
L 2 - - - [1] na pati (deya) dhama

It is the meritorious gift of bhayanta Sama.

1 West has recorded the letters gami gorapa (present – Gorad); but at present these letters are not visible.

Inscription No. 20 : Opposite Cave No. 7 (Fig.No.17)

The inscription is on the back of a low bench along the flight of steps opposite of the Cave No.7. The pathway in question consists of a long flight of steps beginning on the side of the stream. It records the dedication of the pathway by Dhamaṇaka, the goldsmith from Chemulya, the son of Rohinimitra. The Inscription measures 1.16 m. × 36 cm. Letters 5 cm. × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography :The letters are bold, deeply cut, medial 'i' in the word *'chemulaka'* is peculiar. The letters show the influence of the Kṣatrapa style.

Text

L 1 Chemulikasa heraṇikasa Rohiṇi
L 2 mitasa putasa Dhamaṇakasa patho
L 3 Deyadhama

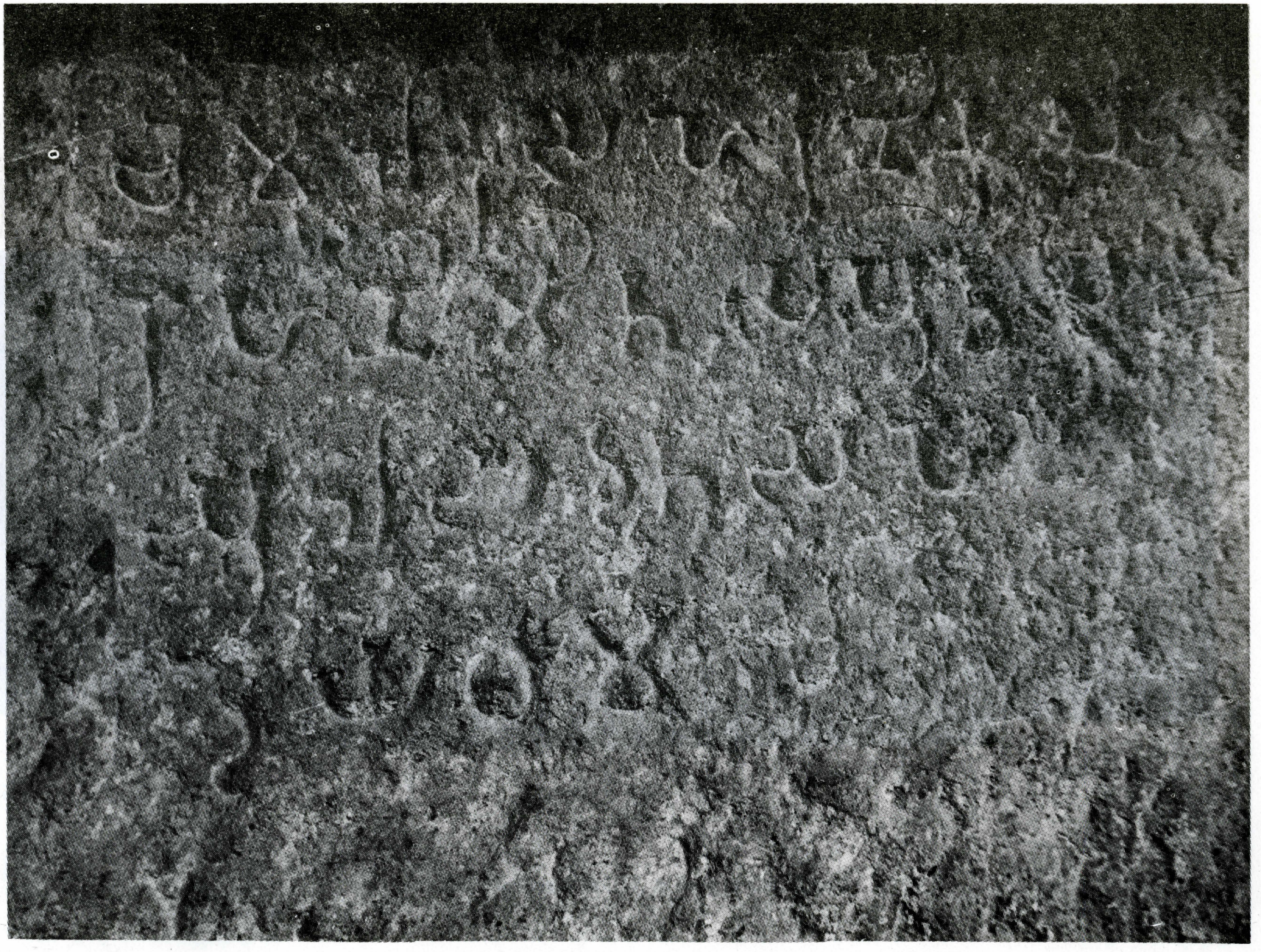
The meritorious gift of a pathway by Dhamaṇaka who was the son of Rohiṇimitra and jeweller of chemulaka (inhabitant of chemula). It seems that sulasadata who was the donor of a cistern near cave No.7 was the son of heraṇika Rohiṇimitra and inhabitant of Chemula. Dhamaṇaka appears to be the brother of Sulasadata. (Inscription No. 18).

Cave No. 11 stands at the west end of the nulla dividing the north and south hills. The inscription is on the left hand side wall over a niche. It is a long inscription but it refers to a merchants or quildsmen. The donation apparently included the gift of a village. 'Navakarmmaṇika' In this connection 'bhikṣukumāra. appears. He is said to be dedicated (?) to his guru teaching, study. The inscrpiton gives the name 'Krsṇaśaila' –

+ Inscription No. 21 : Cave No. 11

Kanheri Cave Inscription of Kapardin Śaka 775

The inscription is engraved on the architrave of the verandah of Cave No.11; the Darbar Cave at Kanheri. It was first brought to notice by West, who published an eye-copy of it in the *journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. VI, pp.1). West numbered this inscription as 15. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji published a translation of its initial portion in the same journal (Vol. XIII, p.11). He went to the caves on 20th November 1876 and with great difficulty took facsimiles of the inscription and published the translation of this inscription in the *Inscriptions from the*



Inscription No. 18, Figure No. 15, Cave No. 7

Inscription No. 19, (eye copy) Figure No. 16, opposite Cave No. 7

Inscription No. 20, Figure No. 17, in front of Cave No. 7

Cave Temples of Western India, 1881 p.61. In 1884, Kielhorn published the text and translation of it and discussed its contents in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XIII, pp.133) Mirashi published this inscription with the impressions in the pages of the *corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Vol. VI pp.3-6).

The inscription consists of six lines. The first three lines are each 5.57 m. long, the two next each (5.38 m) and the last is 3.57 m. long. The letters are about 5.08 cm. high and are not engraved regularly.

Characters : Nagari. The following peculiarities may be noted. The medial 'ā' is shown by a vertical stroke turned upwards, (see Prajāpati L.1). The medial 'e' is in some cases denoted by a prishṭhamātrā (see rajye, line 3). The letter 'na' is generally looped and 'ta' is unlooped. The subscript 'na' appears horizontal (see pañcha, line 3).

Language : Sanskrit, incorrect in several places.

Orthography : There is use of 'va' for 'ba' (Vahula line 1, Akshai is written for 'akṣaya').

The inscription refers to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarsha I who bears the imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja and meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajādhirāja Parameshvara Jagattuṅgadeva* (i.e. Govinda III). It is dated Wednesday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of Aśvina in the expired Śaka year 775 (expressed both in words and numeral), the cyclic year being Prajāpati. The inscription mentions two Śilāhāra princes viz. the illustrious Pullaśakti and his successor Kapardin II.

The object of the inscription is to record that during the reign of Kapardin II, Gomin Avighnākara, a devout worshipper of the Sugata (Buddha) who had hailed from the Gauda country, made a permanent endowment (akṣayanīvī) of one hundred drammas for the construction of the meditation room and raiment of monks residing in the Mahārāja Mahāvihāra at Kṛṣṇagiri. The interest on the endowment was to accrue to the donor during his life-time, and after his death it was to be applied for the said purpose by competent persons. The inscription mentions two witnesses, viz. Pattiyāṇakayoga and the Achārya of Chikhyallapallikā. The inscription contains at the end an imprecation against those who would misappropriate the endowment.

Wednesday second tithi of the dark fortnight Aśvina in the Śaka year 775 correspond Christian date 12th September 854 A.D.

Localities mentioned in the inscription, the Gauda Viṣaya comprised some territory of West Bengal. Kṛṣṇagiri is of course Kanheri. Chikhyallapallika is modern Chikhloli. It lies about twenty miles east of the Kanheri caves.

Text

L 1 Siddhaṁ[1] (1) svasti (1) Śakanṛpa – Kālātitasaṁvatsara[2] śatesu saptasu pañcasaptatiśvaṅkatah (api saṁva) tsaraśah[3] 775 tadantarggataprajāpatisaṁvatsarāṅtahpāti Aśvina[4] va(ba) huladvitiyā (yāṁ Budha) dine asyāṁ saṁva (stara)[5]

L 2 māsapakṣadivasapurvvāyāṁ tithau paramabhaṭṭārakamhārājādhirāja parameshvara shrīmajjagattuṅgadevapādānudhyāta parambhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaparameshvar ashrīmadamoghavarṣadevapravardhamā

L 3 navijayarājye tatprasākṛth aśeṣakoṅkaṇavallabhah[6] śripullaśaktih samadhigatapañchamahāśavda (bda) mahāsāmantaśekharah tatpādānudhyātasamadhigatapañcamahāśavda (bda) mahāsā (ma) ntaśekharah[7] shrī Kaparddirā (jñah[8] pravaradha)

L 4 mānavijayarājye ihaiva Gauḍaviṣayādāgatah paramasai (sau) gatah Gauminaḥ avighnākareṇāsmim[9] shrīkṛṣṇagirimahārāja mahāvihāre upaśamakoli (veśmikah[10] sachi) varikasame[11] akṣainivih[12] drammaśataikena kārāpitāḥ (1) iyam chakṣaya nitiṛyā[13] vadahaṁ jīvāmi tāvanmamopabhogah (1) mamoparatau kṣa (ku) śa (laih) kāri (riṁ) nirupyāna (va) śyaṁ dā –

L 5 tavyā paripanthanā kāryā (1) yaḥ pralepiṣyati[14] sa avīchipari (tāpakumbhī) pākādiṣu narakeṣutpatsyate śvāṇodgirṇṇagamāṁsaṁ sa bhaksayiṣyatyevaṁ vyavasthā (chā) ryasamghasya purato arochyā[15] pratiṣṭhāpya likhāpitā (1) sākṣiṇaschātra pattiyāṇakayoganāmā chikhyallapallikāācharyaśchātra[16] sākṣī puṇyaṁ ma (ntri)[17] sākṣi (ṇāṁ) (1) bho

L 6 bho di (vyavu (bu) ddha) shrī[18] (:) kadachīdapātraṁ sa (tvāpā) chāriṇo[19] sādhvāchārasya pratipādayiṣye sa pātreṇopati (sthe) ttsya[20] pā (pāda) rśanādevāvaśyaṁ dātavyaṁ (vyaṁ) atra ya (ktiṁ) chi[21] dūnākṣaramadhikā (kṣaraṁ) tatsarvvaṁ pramāṇami (ti) (1)

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1. Expressed by symbol.
2. Read saṁvatsara.
3. Read saṁvatsarasah.
4. Read saṁvatsarantaḥpatyāśvin.
5. Read saṁvatsara.
6. Read tatprasādikṛtāśeṣakoṅkaṇavallabhaḥ
7. Read mahāsāmantaśekharasya

8. Read shrikaparddirājasya
9. Read Gaudaviṣayadāgatena paramasaugatena Gominavighnākareṇāsmin.
10. Kielhorn read Kolhiveśmikāh. The traces left as well as the eye copy support the reading given above.
11. Read Sachīvarikāh.
12. Read akṣayanivih.
13. Read chākṣayanīviḥ.
14. Read pralopayiṣyati.
15. Read purata ārochya.
16. Read chikhyallapallikācharyaśchātra.
17. Read mantri.
18. Kielhorn read doubtfully divyabuddha shri
19. The sense seems to be Shri nakadāchit pātraṁ sattvāpāchāriṇah
20. Perhaps yah pātratvenopatiṣthettasya is meant.
21. Read yaktiñchi

Translation

Success ! Hail on Wednesday, the second (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Āśvin falling in the (cyclic) year Prajāpati when seven hundred and seventy-five years in figures 775 of the era of the Śaka king had passed on the aforesaid (lunar) day of the said fortnight of the said month and year, during the increasingly victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara,* the illustrious Amoghavarṣa (I) who medidates on the feet of the *Parambhaṭṭāraka* Mahārājadhirāja and Parameśvara, the illustrious Jagattuṅgadeva (i.e. Govinda III) during the increasingly victorious reign of the illustrious king Kapardin (II), the chief among the Mahāsāmantas who has obtained the five mahāśabdas, and who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Pullaśakti, who was the lord of the entire Koṅkana, which he obtained through his (i.e. Amoghavarsha's) grace, and who was the chief among the Mahāsāmantas and had obtained the five *mahāśabdas.*

(Lines 4 and 5) – Gomin Avighnākara, a devout worshipper of the Sugata (i.e. Buddha) who has come to this very place from the country of Gauda, made a perpetual endowment of one hundred drammas for the room for meditation and the clothing (of the monks) at this Mahārāja – Mahāvihāra of the famous Kṛṣṇagiri.

This perpetual endowment will be used by me so long as I live. On my death, competent persons shall fix the interest and shall necessarily donate it (for the above mentioned purpose) and shall cause no obstruction.

He who will misappropriate this will be born in the Avichi Paritāpa Kumbhīpāka and other hells, (and) will have for his food cow-flesh vomitted by dogs.

This deed has been approved and confirmed in the presence of the Venerable community and has been caused to be written.

The witnesses of this are the *Pattiyāṇaka Yoga* and the Āchārya of (the village) Chikhyallapallikā. Religious merit will accrue to the adviser and the witnesses.

Line 6 – Oh heavenly Buddha ! Never will fortune attend him who wrongs living beings. To him who is of good conduct, will I give. He should approach as a worthy recipient. To him shall necessarily be given, for sin is not noticed in him. Herein whatever may be deficient in letters are redundant in letters, all that is authoritative.

+ Inscription No. 22 : Cave No. 12

Kanheri Cave Inscription of Pullaśakti śaka (765)

The present inscrpiton is engraved on the architrave of Cave No.12. It is just opposite to the Cave No.11. The inscrpition has suffered a great deal and much of it is indistinct. West combined this and the next inscription and numbered them as No. 43 in the *journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* No.VI (1862, Plate 8). Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji published a translation of portions of two of these three Kanheri inscriptions (viz. 2 and 3), but he did not attempt the reading and translation of the present inscription which he left unnoticed. In 1884, Kielhorn published a transcript of the text and a translation of it without a fascimile plate, and discussed its contents in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol.XIII, pp.132). He pointed out that No.43 of West consists of two inscriptions, separated by two vertical lines (called by him No.43a and No.43b).

Mirashi published the facsimile plate alongwith the eye-copy of West and transcript and the translation of Kielhorn in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol.VI.*

Characters : Nāgari, with following peculiarities. The subscript 'ñ' is placed horizontally, while the subscript 'ṇ' is vertical see 'pañch' line 4. *Pūrṇṇahari* line 3.

Language : Sanskrit, incorrect in some places.

Orthography : The word *'akshayanivi'* is written as *akshaiñivi* in line 5. The consonant following 'r' is doubled in *pravarddhamāna* line – 1 and *kaparddi* line 2.

The inscription refers to the reign of the illustrious Pullaśakti who meditated on the feet of the illustrious king Kapardin, the Mahāsāmanta and the lord of Konkan headed by Puri. He (Kapardin) obtained by the favour of the Mahārājādhirāja, Parameshvara, Prithivivallabha, the illustrious Amoghavarṣa.

This Rāshtrakūta king flourished from 814 A.D. to 880 A.D. The present inscription contains a date at the end. At present, it is completely illegible. Kielhorn

doubtfully read it as samvat 765. Mirashi has shown that this date is evidently referred to the Śaka era as all the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras are dated in the same era. It corresponds to 843-44 A.D. In the absence of the necessary details, it does not admit of verification.

The object of the inscription is to record that Viṣṇu (gupta), son of Purṇahari made certain grants of money for (the worship of) the Bhagavat (Buddha) the repairs of the Vihāra, the clothings of the monks and the purchase of their (religious) books at Kṛṣhṇagiri. For this purpose, he made two perpetual endowments of 40 drammas each, and a third one of 120 drammas.

The importance of the inscription lies in that it is the earliest inscription of the Śilāhāras and is the only inscription of the Śilāhāra king Pullaśakti.

Text

L 1 Siddhaṁ (Shri) Mahārājadhirāja parameshvara prithivivallabhashrimadamoghavarṣashrīmahārā (jñaḥ[1]) pravarddhamānavijayarājye tatprasā (dāvāpta) Mahā (sā) mantako. –

L 2 ṅakṇavallabha (Shrīkaparddipādānudhyāta) Shrī Pullaśaktima (hādhīpe) puriprabhṛtikoṅkaṇaviṣayaṁ (samagraṁ[2]) praśāsati tatpadopajīvī[3] pura (ṇāmātyo Bhadra[4]).

L 3 Shrīviṣhṇu (gupta:) (sarvādhyakṣa) Shrīpurṇṇaharisutaḥ Shrīkṛṣṇagirau Shrīmadāryasaṅghaṁ praṇamyātikripayā (dadā) ti (Shrī Bhagavatah pu (jārthaṁ) Viṁśatiṁ (drammāṇaṁ).

L 4 (ihasminneva Vihāre vyastavyākīrṇṇapariṣkaraṇārtham drammāṇām[5]) trayaṁ chīvariyo[6] (Āryasaṁghasya drammāṇāṁ pañcha dāpaniyāḥ pustakārtthameko drammh[7])

L 5 (Akshainivirdrammā[8]) shchatvāriṁshachchatvāriṁshadiha Ekaṁ drammashataṁ[9] viṁshatyuttaraṁ (ram) eteṣāṁ drammāṇam[10] kalatra (putrava) tpratipālaniyā(:) saṁvat[11] (765)[12]

1. Read Mahārājasya.
2. Kielhorn proposed to read Sarvvtaḥ but usually samagra occurs in this context.
3. Kielhorn proposed to read tatpādānujīvī, but the mātrā of the medial 'o' of 'do' is clear and the following akshara also appears to be 'pa', so pādopajīvī, which occurs in this context, is the probable reading.
4. These aksharas are now uncertain. They are so in West's eye-copy also. Mirashi has given Kielhorn's reading here.
5. All these aksaras are uncertain both in the estampage and in West's eye copy. Mirashi has given Kielhorn's reading.
6. Kielhorn reads Chīvaribhyo.
7. Kielhorn's reading.
8. Kielhorn's reading.
9. Kielhorn's reading *'Kāñchandrammaśatam'* which has misled many scholars. Mirashi has read as above.
10. Read *'eto drammāh.*
11. Kielhorn read saṁva, Mirashi read 'saṁvat'.
12. These figures have disappeared completely, they do not appear in West's eye-copy. Kielhorn is doubtful about them.

Translation

Success ! During the increasingly victorious reign of illustrious *Mahārajādhirāja Parameśhvara-Prithivivalabha,* the illustrious Mahārāja Amoghavarṣa (I), while the great chief, the illustrious Pullaśakti is governing the whole country of Konkan headed by Puri (Pullaśakti) who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Kaparddin (I) and who has obtained (the titles of) *Mahāsāmanta and Koṅkaṇa-Vallabha* by his (i.e. Amoghvarsha's) grace the respectable old *Amātya,* illustrious Viṣṇugupta, son of the *Sarvādhyaksha,* the illustrious *Pūrṇahari,* after having made obeisance to the Holy community (saṅgha) at the famous Kṛṣṇagiri, (has donated), out of great kindness, twenty *'drammas'* for the worship of the holy (Buddha); three (drammas) for the repairs of what may be damaged or ruined in this very Vihara. For the raiment of the Venerable community, five drammas shall be expanded and for (religious) books one *dramma.*[1] As a perpetual endowment (he has deposited) here forty *drammas* (and) forty, and (also) one hundred and twenty *drammas.*[2] (the disposition as to the expenditure) of these *drammas* should be guarded like (one's) wife and sons, in the year (765).

1. The interest on the perpetual endowments was to be spent for the four objects mentioned here. The reading and interpretation of this portion is uncertain. Mirashi followed Kielhorn in regard to them. The deposited amounts (viz. 40, 40 & 120) are separately mentioned as Kielhorn surmised, they were entrusted to different persons or guilds.
2. Kielhorn read *'Kāñchana'* in place of ekam (one more) and supposed that the 120 drammas were of gold. Mirashi read it correctly. The dramma was a silver coin.

+ Inscription No. 23 : Cave No.12

Kanheri Cave Inscription of Kapardin II, Śaka year 799

This inscription is engraved on the achitrave of Cave No.12, just opposite to the darbar Cave No.11. It was first brought to the notice by West, who published an eye-copy of it in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of*

the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI (1862). He combined this inscription with No. 1 above and numbered them both as No. 43. Therefore, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji published the translation of only its initial portion, containing the name of the king and the date in the same journal Vol. XIII, (1878), pp.11-12. In 1884, Kielhorn published the transcript of the text and a translation of it and discussed its contents in the *Indian Antiquary Vol. XIII, pp. 113.* Mirashi published it in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Vol.VI, pp.6-8).

The inscription consists of five lines. Length of the inscription 2.13 m. Letters 3.81 cm.

The letters are faintly cut. *Characters :* Nagari alphabets and show the same peculiarities as those of the preceding inscription.

Language :Sanskrit.

Orthography :Reduplication of the consonant 'ra', e.g. *Pravarddhamāna'* and *'Kaparddin'* both in line No. 2.

The inscription refers to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarsha I who bears the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and Parameśvara. It mentions the prosperous rule of the illustrious Kapardin (II) who was the chief of his Mahāsāmantas and the lord of Koṅkana graciously granted him by Amoghavarṣa. The inscription is dated in the expire Śaka year 799 corresponds to A.D. 877-78.

The object of the inscription is to record that during the reign of Kapardin II a person named Vevā[1] made a perpetual donation for the Koliveśmikā and clothing and other gifts for the Buddhist monks by depositing one hundred drammas with the Venerable Community of the Mahāvihāra at Kṛṣṇagiri.

The only location mentioned in the inscription is Kṛiṣhṇagiri which is the hill of Kanheri.

Text

L 1 (Siddham[1]) Svasti (1) Śakanṛpakālātītasaṁva (samva) tsaraśateṣu saptasu navanavatyadhikeṣvaṅkatah 799 Mahārāhadhirāja (Parammeśvarashrī -)

L 2 madamoghavarṣadevapravarddhamānavijayarājye tatprasādīkṛtakoṅkaṇavallabhamahāsāmntaśekhara srīkapa (rddi) pravarddhamānadhipatye (shr) matkṛṣṇagiri (mahāvi-)

L 3 hāre bhadrashrī (Vevāh) bhikṣun[2]āṁ tatrasthārya (saṅghasya) drammāṇaṁ Śatamekaṁ datvo (ttvo) paśamanasadṛśāṁ chīvarikādilābhasamanvitāṁ koliveśmikaṁ[3] kṛtvā (nyaviviśa)[4] tseyamāryabhi (kṣo[5]) re –

L 4 vānukampāmupādāya yāvacchandrārkkādayah pratapanti tāvatpratipālyā (1) ya(stu) na pratipālayiṣyati sa pañcanataryakarmmakāryavichyādiṣu mahaddukhamanubhaviṣyati (1) vyavastheyaṁ

L 5 (Ā) chāryasaṅghasya purata arochya (prati) ṣṭhāpya likhāpitā sākṣiṇaschatrāchārya Dharmmākaramitrah Gomyavighnāka (rah) pattiyānayogah (1) puṇyena (prāpyante) Shri (pr)

L 6 thvyadaya itih (1)

1. Expressed by a symbol.
2. Kielhorn read Viṣṇurbhikṣuṇaṁ
3. Kielhorn read Kolhiveśmikāṁ
4. These aksharas are uncertain. Kielhorn conjecturally supplied them because they occur in a similar context in an Ajanta inscription. See C.I.I. Vol. V, p.109.
5. This akshara is damaged.

Translation

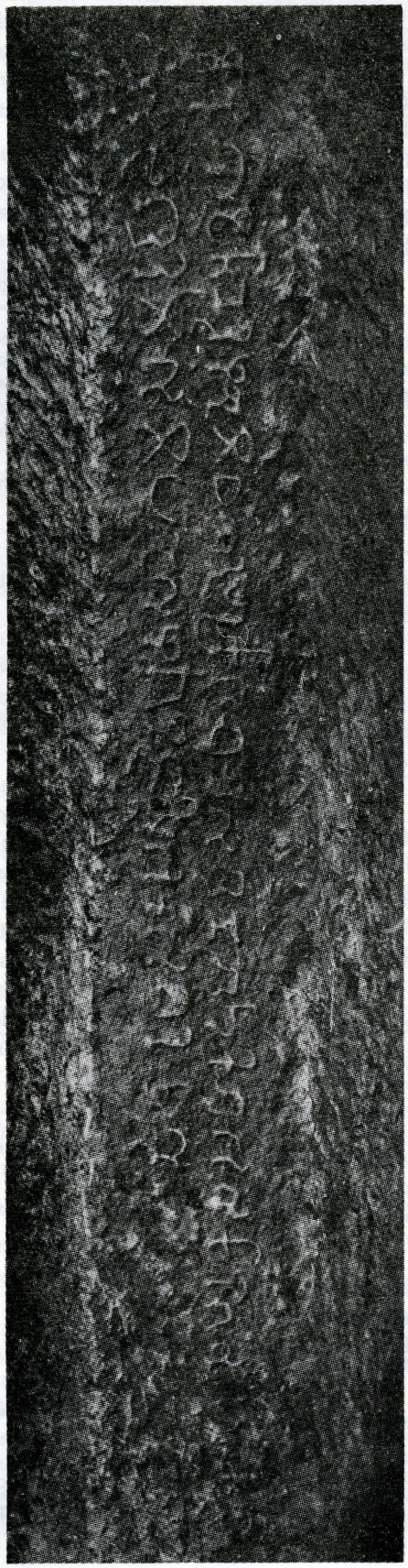
Success ! Hail ! When 799 years of the era of the Śaka King had passed (and) during the increasingly victorious reign of the Mahārajādhirāja and Parameśvara the illustrious Amoghavarṣa (I), (and) during the prosperous rule of the illustrious Kapardin (II), the Mahāsāmanta and the lord of Koṅkan graciously granted by him (i.e. Amoghavarṣa I), the respectable Vevā has made over a hundred drammas to the venerable Community dwelling in the Mahāvihāra on the famous (hill of) Kṛṣṇagiri, and has thereby established a room suitable for meditation together with the clothings and other gifts (to be made to the monks). This endowment should out of compassion for the venerable monks, be preserved as long as the moon, the sun and other (luminaries) shine. He who will not preserve this endowment shall be guilty of the five sins which result in immediate retribution and shall suffer great pain in the Avichi and other (hells).

(Lines 4-6) – This deed has been approved in the presence of the Community of the Āchāryas and has been confirmed (by it) and has been caused to be written. Witnesses of this are the Āchārya Dharmākaramitra, the Gomin Avighnākara and Pattiyāṇayoga.

Fortune, earth and so forth are obtained by (one's religious merit.

△ Inscription No. 24 : Cave No. 16 (Fig. No. 18)

The inscription is rather faintly cut but is distinct and perfect. It is of two lines above a recess over a bench in Cave No. 16. It measures 1.44 m. × 22 cm. Letters 5 cm. × 3 cm.



Inscription No. 24, Figure No. 18, Cave No. 16

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography :The letters *'ta'* and *'na'* are written in similar fashion with a loop.

Text

L 1 Sidhaṁ upāsakasa viṇhumitasa negamasa Muṇḍapālasa.

L 2 Soparakasa saha kuṭubinihi saha bālake hi deyadhama chhetaṁ dinaṁ akhayanivi

Translation

The inscription records a permanent gift of a field by the merchant Muṇḍapāla the son of Upāsaka Viṇhumita, alongwith his wife and children.

The name Muṇḍapāla is peculiar. It appears that the name is after a tribe Muṇḍa.

★ Inscription No. 25 : Cave No. 21 (Fig.No. 19)

The inscription is on the left-hand side wall, outside the verandah of Cave No. 21. The inscription is cut deep and distinct. It measures 1.32 cm. × 1.27 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters *'a'*, *'ka'*, *'ra'* with their verticals. curved at the lower end.

Text

L 1 Sidhaṁ

L 2 Raño Gotamiputasa sāmi-siriyaña – sātakaṇisa sata (va) chhare 16 gi –

L 3 mh (a) ṇa pakha[1] 2 divase 5 kāliyāṇavāthavasa[2] negamasa Aṇa

L 4 daputasa Usā (pā) sakasa Apareṇusa sa (pa) rivārasa sahā

L 5 kuḍubiniya Ānadamātu Juvāriṇikāya[3] Sahā bālakena Aṇadeṇa

L 6 Saha cha suṇh (ā) hi Aṇa ----- la ----- sipacha Dhāmadeviya

L 7 saha cha ---- Veṇa ahavi (?) apaṇa āmāpitaro udisa

L 8 Pava (te) Kaṇhasele leṇaṁ koḍhi cha deyadhāmaṁ chātudise

L 9 bhikhusaghe paḍiṭhāpita savasatāṇaṁhitasughatha

L 10 etasa cha akhayanivi datā kāhāpaṇāna (i) satāni be 200

L 11 saghasa yeva haṭhe paḷike sate eṭha cha ādhapaṇa

L 12 khetiyasa kheta gāme Magalathāne bhojākapati eto

L13. saṃgheṇa dātava chivarika soḷasaka paḷiko cha māse utukāle

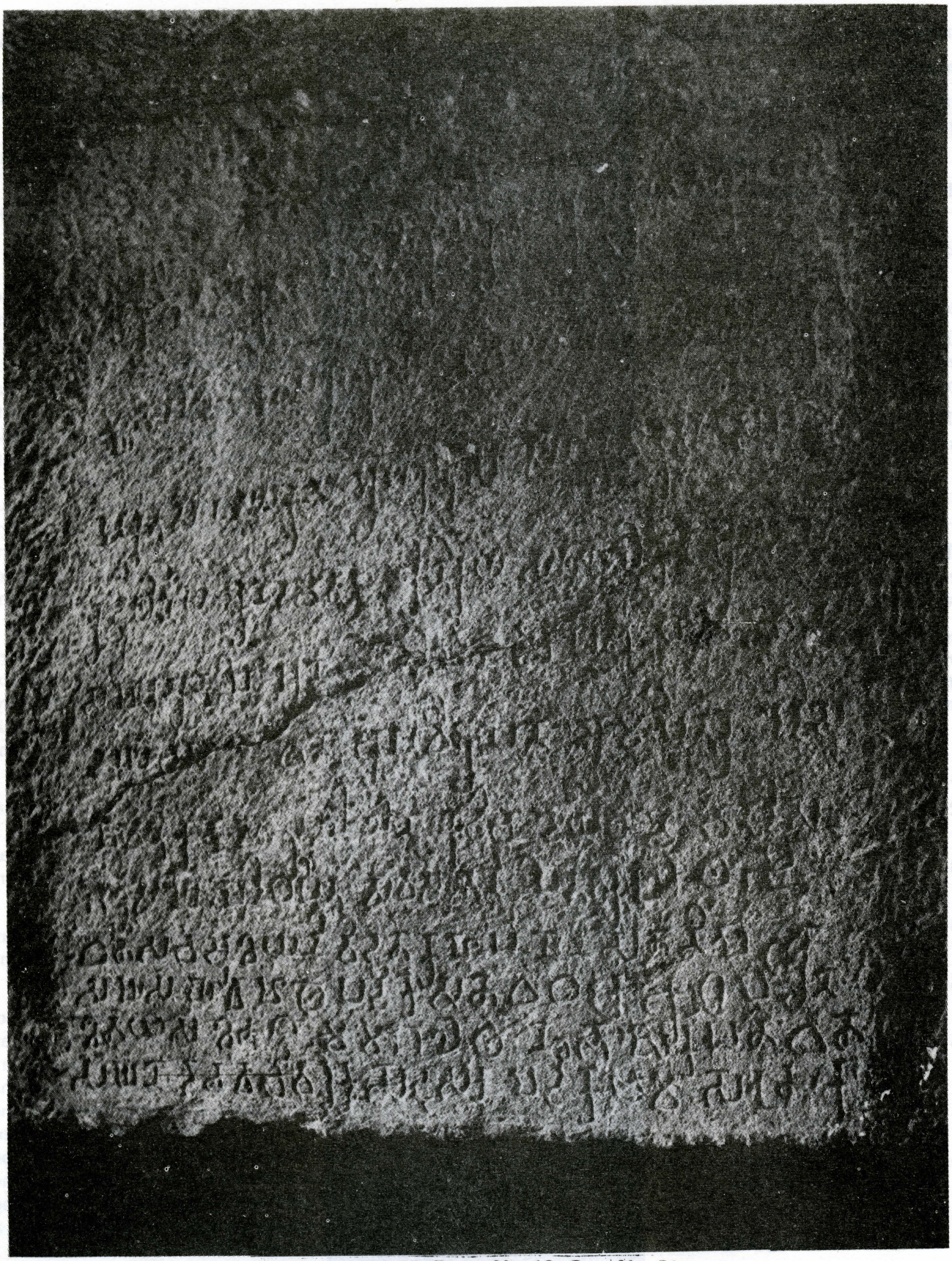
Success ! On the 5th day of the second fortnight of the hot season, in the year 16 of the King Svāmī Gautamiputra Sriyaňaśrī Sātakarni, a merchant, the resident of Kalyan, the lay worshipper Apareṇu, the son of Ānanda (a merchant residing in Kalyan) has excavated, together with (his) family (viz.) together with (his) wife Juvāriṇikā. The mother of Ānanda (Anaḍa) together with his son Ānanda (Anaḍa) and together with his daughters-in-law, (wives of) Ānanda ..... Dharmadevi (Dhamadevi) and together with ..... a cave and a hall, in the mountain, the hill of Kṛishṇa (Kaṇhasela) for the community of the ascetics, from the four quarters of the horizon (to be) a meritorious gift for the benefit of his own parents and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings.

Burgess has rightly interpreted the word *'Adhapaṇa Khetiya'*. This phrase has been used to denote a person who possesses a right to half a share in the property. Apareṇu in the present inscription possessed the field in question, together with an unnamed co-partner and donated his share of produce for religious purpose.

The name of the mother of Ānanda was Juvāriṇikā. She must have hailed from Jorwe, near Nasik. This is again noteworthy Indian custom of naming a woman after a place-name. There are names like Avantikā from Avanti, Malavikā from Malava.

Magalasthāna may be identified with modern Magathana near Kanheri. The inscription records the name of the mountain as Kaṇhaṣela near Kanheri.

Apareṇu, the donor was Upāsaka and the son of Ānanda who was a trader at Kalyana which was an important trade centre. He has given a permanent endowment (of) two hundred Karṣāpaṇas, into the hands of community bearing a monthly interest of one Kārṣāpana. And here the field of the half-paṇa owner, in the village of Maṅgalasthana (Magaṭhana) may be enjoyed out of (the interest and the revenue of) that, the community shall give one sixteenth share for clothing and in the right season the value of one Kārṣapaṇa a month.



Inscription No. 25, **Figure No. 19, Cave No. 21**

The inscription is important from various points of view:

1. It records the name of the Sātavāhana King Yajñaśri.
2. The endowment have been made during Yajñaśriś 16th regnal year.
3. The inscription records the donation of 200 Kārṣāpaṇas. Half a share of the produce of a field at Maġalasthana.

1. Bühler has not read the numeral two.
2. Bühler read it as Kalayaṇa.
3. Reading is *'Juvāṇinikā'* is quite visible.

△ Inscription No. 26 : Cave No. 22 (Fig.No. 20)

The inscription is on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah cave No. 22. It is deep cut but the rock is honeycombed and weather-worn, therefore, the letters are indistinct. It measures 38 cm × 48 cm. Leiters 7 cm × 4.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, Later part of 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters match with the period.

Text

L 1 Sidhaṁ therāṇaṁ sagha
L 2 ---- Antevāsiniyā pavajitikāyā
L 3 deyadhama --- sagaṁ pāniya (podhi)
L 4 layana.

Translation

This is the meritorious gift by a nun (Pavajitā) (name effaced) the disciple of revered Bhadanta Sagha (------).

△ Inscription No. 27 : Cave No. 26 (Fig.No. 21)

The inscription is on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah cave No. 26. It is above a recess over a tank. It is faintly cut on a tablet surrounded by an ornamental border. The surface of the inscription is corroded. It measures 53 cm. × 69 cm. Letters 5 cm. × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 3rd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are of peculiarly ornamental style differeing from all other inscriptions at Kanheri.

Text

L 1 Siddham Shrimuputa (sa)
L 2 chemulikiya
L 3 isa leṇam kārita (m)
L 4 sivapute (na)
L 5 ---- kaṇhagiri

Translation

The inscription records the gift of a cave by Sivaputa from chemulaka at Kanheri.

★ Inscription No. 28 : Cave No. 32 (Fig.No. 22)

The inscription is one the left hand side wall outside the verandah of Cave No. 32 over a large water tank. It measures 1.71 m. × 1.10 m.

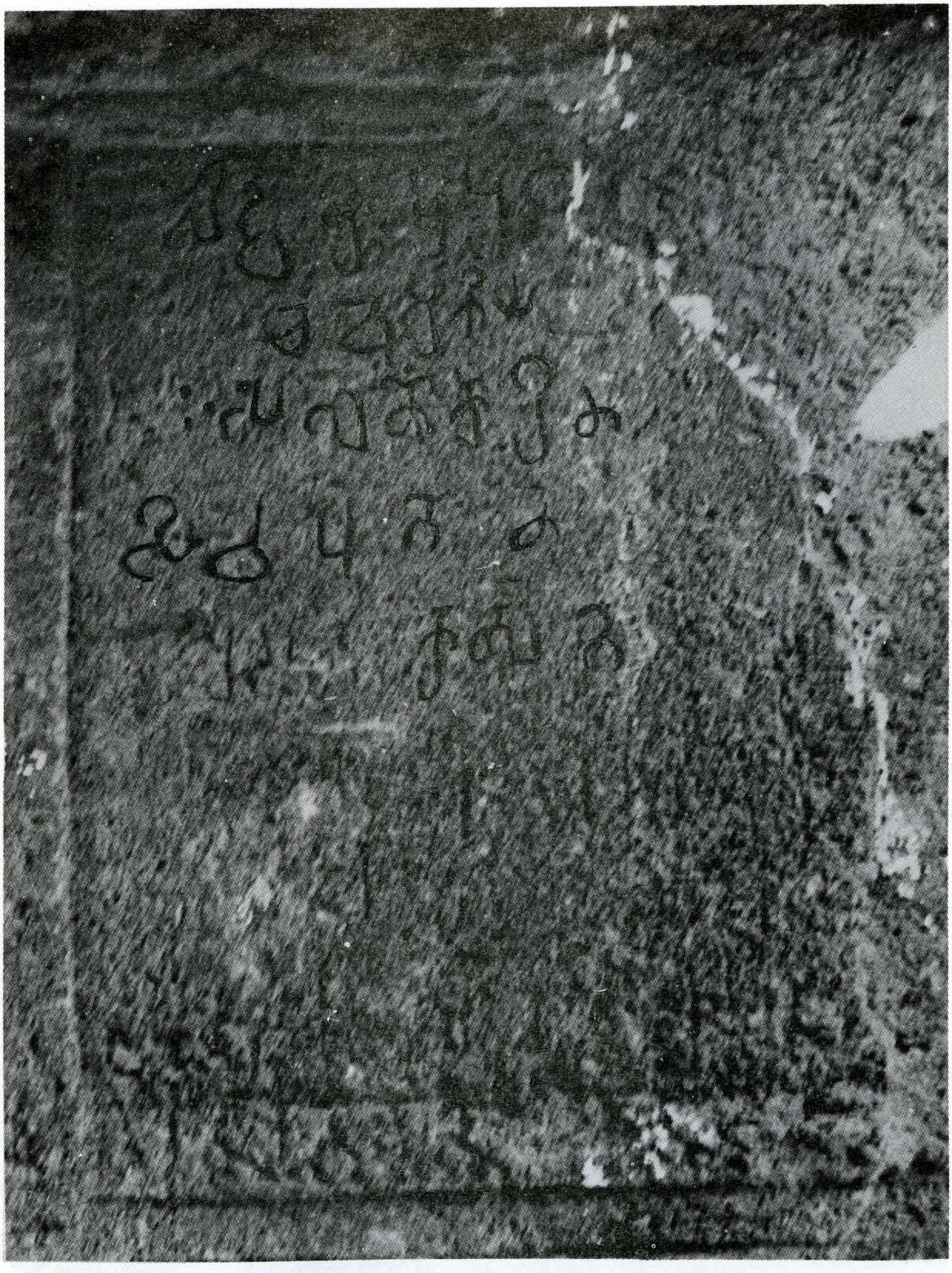
Letters : 7.5 cm. × 6.5 cm.
Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deeply cut, distinct and display the characteristics of the period.

Text

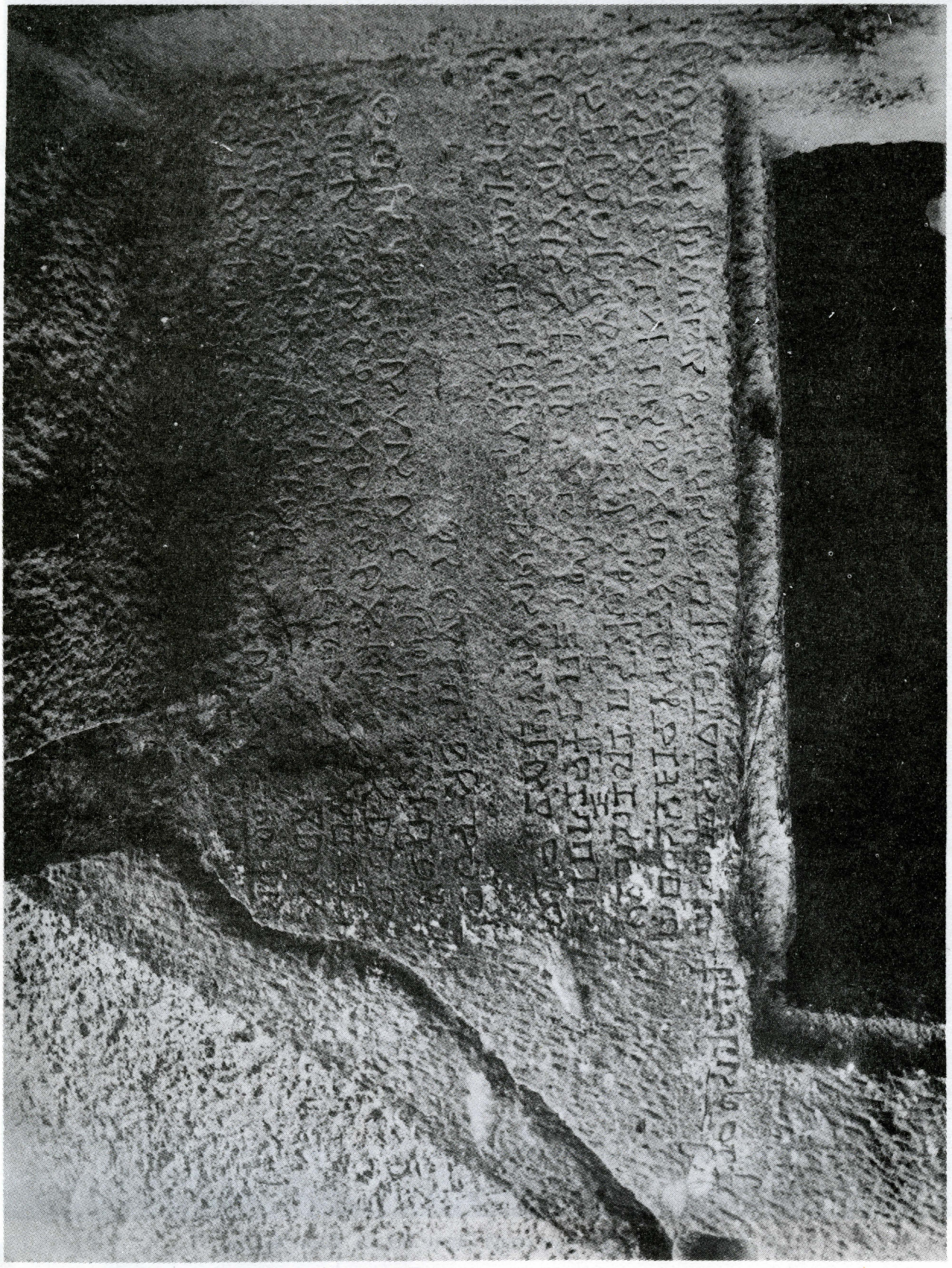
L 1 S(i) dha (ṁ) Kāliya (ña) --- sa -- ṇa S(i)vamitasa putasa nega –
L 2 masa Dhama ------ Budhakena saha cha saveṇa parivā
L 3 reṇa bavā (?) ------ la (ya) naṁ pāṇiyapoḍhi āsanapeḍhikā
L 4 yo pīḍho a ----- chakamo cha deyadhama chātudise bhikhusaghe pa --
L 5 tithāpita mā (tā) pitaro
udisa savasatuhitasughatha (1)
L 6 eṭha cha akhayanivī cha datā (1)
L 7 eto cha vāsārate vasatasa bhikhuṇo chivarika kāhāpaṇā solasa pate l (e)[1]
L 8 sa upāhaṇāṇa[2] cha kāhāpaṇo utukāle (cha) paḍiko māse vasatasa dā --
L 9 tavo seseṇa leṇaṁ paḍiagitava (1)
Kāliyaṇe cha vihāre Gandhārikābhami ---
L 10 ya (ṁ) bagabhaṁ bhojanachātusāla cha deyadhaṁma (1)
etesi pi akhanivi[3] datā Mukuḍasiva---
L 11 yi (va) yaṁ nivesaṇaṁ (1) eto be bhākā bigabhasa bhākā chātusālasa vihāra dasakāni chivari[4]
L 12 kāni chātusāla cha (bhāka)[5]

1. Line 7 – The vowel sign is indistinct.
2. Line 8 – the *'na'* of *upāhaṇaṇa* is below the line.
3. Line 10 – *akhayanivi*
4. Line 11 – possibly *'yiṭhayam'*
5. Line 12 – The last two signs are indistinct and one might read chataka (chatuṣka).

Inscription No. 26, Figure No. 20, Cave No. 22



Inscription No. 27, (eye copy) Figure No. 21, Cave No. 26



Inscription No. 28, Figure No. 22, Cave No. 32

Translation

Success ! A cave, a water cistern, benches for sitting, a chair and a flight of stairs have been erected for the community of monks from the four quarters of the horizon (as) the meritorious gift of the merchant Dharma ----, the son of Śivamitra, ----- an inhabitant of Kalyan (being associated with) ----- Budhaka and with his whole family in honour of his parents and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. And a permanent endowment has been given there. And out of (the interest of) that sixteen kārṣāpaṇas are to be given (to defray the expense) for clothes to the ascetics who reside (in the cave) during the rainy season. A small amount for (his) almsbowl and one Kārṣapaṇa for (his) shoes and in the right season (the value) of one kārṣapaṇa a month who dwells (there), with the remaining amount the cave is to be kept in repair. And in the monastery at Kalyan in the *'Gandharikābhami'* a (house) with two apartments and a quadrangular dining hill (have been built as) a meritorious gift. A perpetual endowment has been given for these also (viz.) a dwelling house in the *'Mukuḍasivāyiva'*. Out of (rent of) that two shares (are to be spent) on the house with two apartments (three) shares on the quadragular hall, ten (shares) are (to be given to the ascetics) in the monastery, for clothes and one share (to those) in the quadrangular hall.

The inscription records various gifts to the Chātudisa-bhikṣusaṅgha : Gifts:– 1 Leṇa, 2 Pāniyapoḍhi, 3 Āsanapeḍhikā, 4 Chankama. Separate mention of the gifts for the bhiksus who were living during the rainy season. 1 clothes, 2 trifles alms bowl 3 shoes.

There is a specific mention of the repairs of the cave.

Burgess has rightly interpreted the word *'Gandhārikābhamī'* as Gandhārikābhramī-circle, in the present day its equivalent would be the Kabulibazar and *Mukuḍasivāyiva* might be the name of a ward of the town Kalyan. It appears that at Kalyan in the Gandhārikā circle, there was a monastery with two apartments and a quadrangular dining hall. It is interesting to note that the *'Gandhārikābhramī'* might be a sector in Kalyan where traders from Gāndhāra had a residential colony. During the time of Yajñaśri, India had trade relations with the western world; especially with Gāndhāra. This epigraphic evidence is well corroborated with the numismatic evidence too. The king Yajñaśri had issued ship-typed coins.[1]

1. Gokhale, Shobhana, 1984, Two lead coins of Yajñaśrī Sātakarnī from the British Museum – *JNSI* XLVI, p.47-48.

★ Inscription No. 29 near Cave No.32 (Fig.No. 23)

The inscription is of four lines on a detached rock on the side of the steps near Cave No.32. The inscription records the dedication of the pathway by a blacksmith from Kalyan. It measures 47 cm. × 41 cm. Letters 7.5 cm. × 6 cm.

Characters – Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.
Orthography – The letters are deep. The vertical stroke of 'ka' is very long.
Language –Prakrit

Text

L 1 Kaliyaṇato
L 2 Nadasa kamā
L 3 rasa patho de
L 4 yadhama

Translation

A path, meritorious gift of Nanda (Nada), a blacksmith from Kalyan.

★ Inscription No. 30 Cave No.39 (Fig.No. 24)

The inscription is on the left-hand side-wall of the porch to cave No. 39. It is faintly cut and rather indistinct. It measures 92.5 cm. × 12.5 cm. Letters 3 cm. × 3 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, beginning of 3rd century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Letters *'a'* and *'ka'* have elongated verticals.

Text

L 1 Sidham āchariā (na) bhayata Virāṇaṁ bhātuno pavajitasa Āṇadasa
L 2 leṇa deyadhamaṁ saghe (1) akhayanivi dinā (1) eto chivarikaṁ dāta
L 3 Va 20[2] Kā (hāpaṇāni) saha savehi nātihi

1. The name of the teacher is *'Vira'*
Bühler has given the name of the reverend teacher according to West's copy.
2. Bühler read *'chhaka'* but it is the numeral '20'.

Translation

Success ! A cave, the meritorious gift of the ascetic Ānanda (Anada) the brother of the teacher, the reverend Vira for the community of ascetics. A permanent endowment has been given. Out of (the interest of) that (the expense) for clothes 20 kārṣāpaṇas

Inscription No. 29, Figure No. 23, near Cave No. 32

Inscription No. 30 (eyecopy), Figure No. 24, Cave No. 39

are to be given to (the ascetics). (The giver is associated) with all his blood relations.

In the line 3 Burgess read *'chhaka'* but it should be read as the numeral 20. After the numeral 20, the letter 'Ka' is very clear which stands for Kārṣāpaṇas. Out of permanent endowment, 20 Kārṣāpaṇas were to be given for clothes to monks.

△ Inscription 31 : Cave No. 41

The inscription is of four letters on the front of a pedestal before a sitting figure of the Buddha in the cave No.41. The surface of the stone is honeycombed and the first two letters are illegible. It measures 5 cm. × 4 cm. Letters 4 cm. × 4 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Orthography calls no remarks.

Text

L 1 Sthisa. It conveys no meaning.

△ Inscription No.32 : Opposite Cave No.41 (Fig.No. 25)

The inscription is engraved on a detached rock opposite Cave No. 41. The stone slab having the dressed portion where the inscription is engraved, measures 1.10 m × 1.25 m. The sides of this detached boulder have remained vertical till today. This definitely indicates that it has not been moved since the inscription was cut. The stone is not far away from the remains of the ancient stone-wall across the stream which flows only in rainy season from nearby catchment area at the foot of the hill. Across the stream, there are remains of an ancient stone-wall which measures 32 m. × 2.75 m. × 4 m. In the broken wall, there is a conduit excavated in the rock which measures 1.7 m. × 1.75 m. × 1 m.

Letters : Each individual letter measuring about .8 cm. × .1 cm. is boldly and neatly engraved but some of them are severely damaged.

The inscription, which consists of three lines is deeply cut and distinct, but the major portion of the first line and a part of the second are peeled off.

Characters : The alphabets employed in the inscription under study decidedly belong to the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The characters resemble very closely to those of the inscriptions from Nasik[1] of the Sātavāhana King Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi (133-62 A.D.) and generally those of the Karle records of the time of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi.

Language : Prakrit and calls for no special remarks.

Orthography : There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. There is no case of reduplication of consonants or the use of conjuncts. the letter 'ka' denotes elongated form. The looped type 'ta' which is occasionally noticed in the Sātavāhana epigraphs is found. The flat-based 'pa' and 'ma', triangular 'da' and 'dha' clearly indicate the Southern influence.

Text

L 1 -----
L 2 patisa sethisa Pu-
L 3 ṇakasa talāka deya dhama

As for the object of the inscription, it records the construction of a reservoir by Seṭhi Puṇaḷa from Sopara.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it offers the earliest evidence of dam construction in Maharashtra. At Kanheri, there is a suitable catchment area behind the Krishṇagiri mountain. Almost every cell contains a 'poḍhi' where rain-water from the top of the hill is collected. One of the inscriptions at Kanheri refers to the fields around Kanheri which were under cultivation for the maintenance of Buddhist monks. The present inscription indicates that the water-tanks in the caves were sufficient for the occupants of the cells and that the dam was constructed across the stream and the collected water was utilised for the watering of nearby fields. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Jangli Gundu inscription, which is assigned to Sri Puḷumāvi, records the sinking of a reservoir. The inscribed rock[2] lies midway between the village Myakadoni and Chinnakadaburu, Bellary district (Karnataka). The reservoir was sunk by a householder in Puḷumāvi's 8th regnal year.

It is well-known that the matrimonial relations between the Sātavāhanas and the Kshatrapas, which are recorded in one of the inscriptions at Kanheri, promoted cultural relations. They are reflected in various branches, such as the Sātavāhana coinage and script.

In ancient India, the Achaemenian tradition made a deep impact on the Mauryan architecture, but so far as dam construction is concerned, it seems to have depended on the indigenous skill. The famous dam at Junagadh[3] was constructed during the reign of Chandragupta. It was adorned with conduits during the reign of Aśoka when Yavana Tuṣāspha was the Governor of Saurāshtra. One is tempted to grant the credit for that engineering feat to this Śaka Governor who might have travelled over upto Kanheri. But it is to

Inscription No. 30, Figure No. 25, opposite Cave No 41

be noticed that the principle of inletting and outletting the excess water and building of embankments was known even to the Indus people and the people of Lothal.[4] It can, therefore, be said that the engineering technique of dam construction was known in Maharashtra in the early parts of the 2nd century A.D.

The name of the donor of the present inscription is Puṇaka (from Sopara). The name Puṇaka is significant in the history of Buddhist legends. Purṇa was a chief merchant of Sopara. He was so affected by hearing Buddhist hymns that he determined to become a follower of the Buddha. He soon rose to a high place among the Buddha's followers. He asked leave of the master to preach law in Aparānta. The Buddha reminded him how fierce and cruel the people there were. He persisted and his quiet fearlessness disarmed the wild men of Aparānta. Many became converts and monasteries were built and flourished. Shortly, after Purṇa's brother and some merchants from Śrāvasti, on the point of shipwreck off the Malabar coast, called Oṁ Purṇa to help them and he, appearing in their midst, calmed the storm. On reaching Sopara, they built a Buddhist temple with their cargo of sandalwood and its opening was honoured by the presence of Gautama.

The present inscription records the name of Puṇaka who hailed from Sopara. Today actually the word 'Soparaka' is not seen on the stone slab but in 1942 Dikshit read these letters. It is most surprising to find out the parallel evidence of the Buddhist legend in the inscription. The Buddhist legend and the inscription have four common things, viz., (1) the name 'Purṇa', 'Puṇaka', (2) both are traders, i.e. 'śreshthīs', (3) both hailed from Sopara, and (4) both the personalities took active part in the architectural activities at Kanheri. On the basis of this parallel evidence, the Buddhist legend could be clearly seen in the historical perspective. It is well-known that Buddhism never spread in Aparanta during the life-time of the Buddha. Buddhism had its first footing in Aparānta during the reign of King Aśoka. In this instance, there is the possibility that in the story of 'Puṇaka' the meeting of Puṇaka and the Buddha may be the legendary part.

The same story of 'Puṇaka' occurs in the *Avadānakalpalatā*[5] of the Kashmiri poet Kshemendra. (11th Century A.D.)

It may, therefore, be said that 'Puṇaka' flourished at Sopara in the middle of the 2nd Century A.D. as the inscription records but that he was committed to writing in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

References :–

1. Senart E., 1905-06 *Ep. Ind., VIII* p.90
2. Sukathankar, V.S., 1917-18, *ibid XIV* p.155.
3. Kielhorn, F, 1905-06, *Ep. Ind., VIII,* p.36
4. Rao, S.R., 1973, *Lothal and Indus Civilization*, p.17
5. Vaidya, P.L., 1959 *Avadanakalpalatā* (Darbhanga) Vol.1, pp.233-238

★ Inscription No. 33 : Cave No.50 : (Fig.No. 26)

The inscription is on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No.50. It is interesting to note that the board for writing the inscription is made smooth. The upper portion of the inscription is deeply cut. After line No.7, there is a swastika. There are three faint lines thereafter.

It meaures 1.50 m × 1.6 m. Letters 8 cm. × 4.4 cm.

Characters : The characters show the admixture of Brāhmī of 3rd Century A.D. (Southern variety) and the earlier forms.

Language : The inscription has recorded the most remarkable mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit forms.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : The inscription has recorded the duplication of letters in the words *'Āryyaghoshasya', 'Bhādrājaṇijāṇam' 'deyyadharmma', 'puttāṇa', 'ṭṭhitāṇam', 'sarvvasatvāṇam'.*

Text

L 1 ----------
---------- leṇaṁ pāniyya (poḍhicha) ---

L 2 --------
------ ṇa Bhādrajaṇijjāṇaṁ pratigrahe (1) etta pūṇaṁ

L 3 --------- mātua cha Naṁdininikāya[1] ghariṇiya Dāmi

L 4 (lāya) -------- ya ekka ovarako deyyadhamrmma etto cha puṇabhāgo puttānaṁ je

L 5 ------ sya[2] bhātuputrasya cha Āryyaghoshasya dhutua cha Saṅghadevanikāya

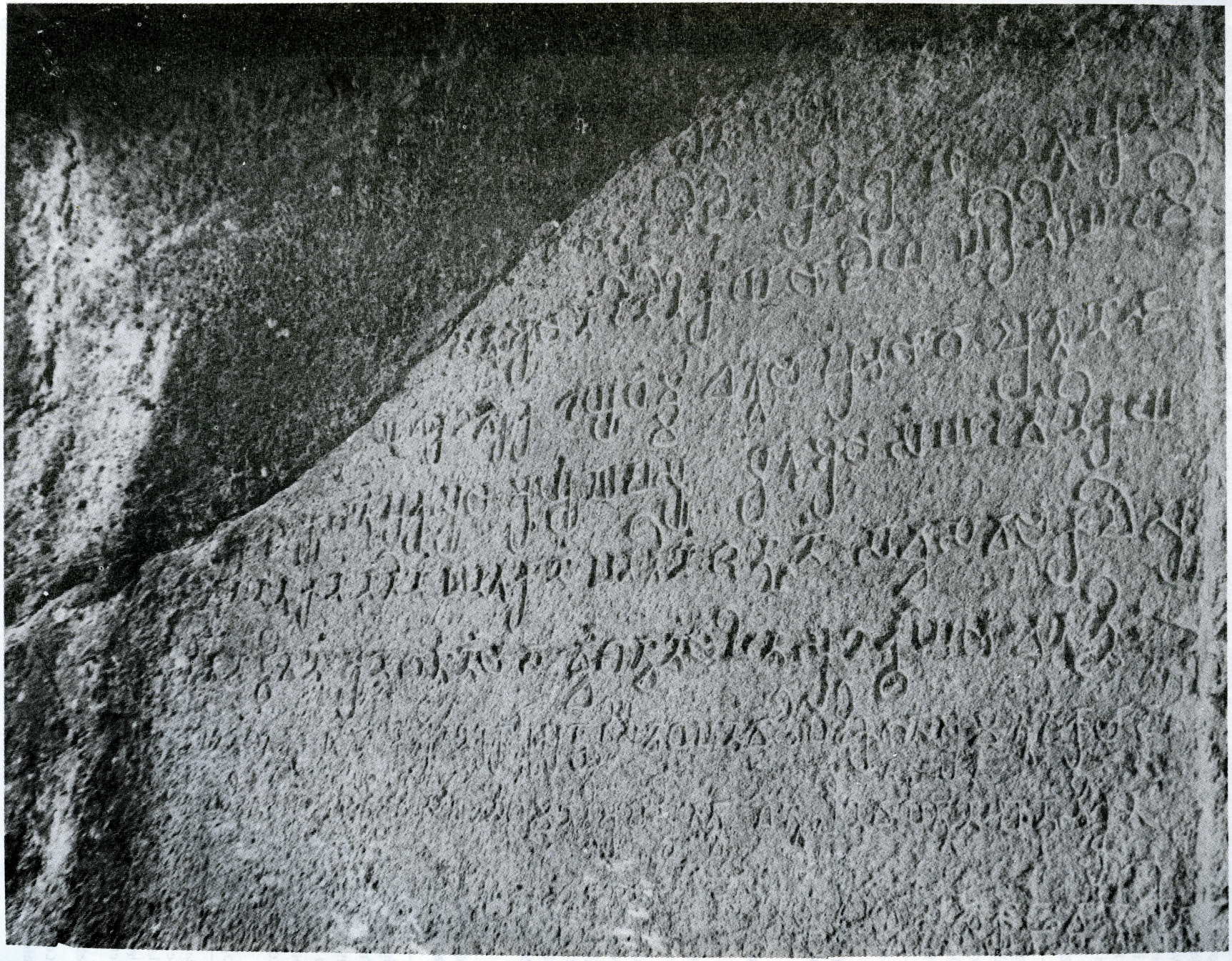
L 6 ------ ṇatukāṇaṁ nātiṇaṁ panatukāṇaṁ panatiṇaṁ Śuṇhāṇaṁ savvaseva cha[3]kulasya

L 7 (a) titāṇaṁ ṭṭhitāṇaṁ aṇagatāṇaṁ cha sārvvasatvāṇaṁ cha hitasukhārtthāya bhavatu tti
----

L 8 Kāhāpaṇāni datāni 1600 Kallivanaṁ Kakalakarardha visito ṭhapanaṁ vāḍhi patike sataṁ 100 mātta ekacharn dati

L 9 Vāḍhapaṇiko mhādiam sulabhati visiya nigamā natti āsandi khatavvā etta leṇe vasattāṇaṁ beno bhikhuṇā

1. The reading would be *'Nandinikāya'*
2. Bühler has not read this letter.
3. Bühler has not noted the last three lines. The letters of the last three lines are small, thin and bleak in appearance. However, the



Inscription No. 33, Figure No. 26, Cave No. 50

following meaning could be reconciled. It narrates a perpetual endowment of 1600 kārṣāpaṇas. The reading of lines 8 and 9 could be made out with the help of photograph and the eye-copy of West. The donation of 1600 Kārṣāpaṇas was made by stone-masons from Kallivana, near Nasik. Line 9 states that the rich trader Sulabhati among them repaired the washed away road and his relatives excavated the benches for the two Bhikṣus who were living in that cave.

A cave and a water cistern for the acceptance of the - - - - - Bhadrāyaṇiyas. The merit (gained) thereby (shall belong) to - - - - - - and to (my) mother Nandinikā. One cell (is) the meritorious gift of (my) wife (and) Dāmilā. A share of the merit (gained) thereby (shall belong) to (my) Sons Je - - - -, to (my) nephew Āryaghosha, and to (my) daughter Saṁghadevanikā - - - - to (my) grandsons, grand-daughters, great-grandsons, great grand-daughters, and daughters-in-law, and to (my) whole race, the deceased, the living and the unborn, may it be for the welfare and happiness of all living beings.

★ Inscription No. 34 : Cave No.54 : (Fig.No. 27)

The inscription is over a cistern on the right hand of entrance of the Cave No. 54. It measures 88.5 cm. × 69 cm. Letters 4.5 cm. × 4 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deep. The vertical strokes in the letters *'a', 'ka', 'ra',* are long. There is no distinction between *'ta'* and *'na'*. The letters 'pa' and 'ha' are flat based.

Text

L 1 sidha therāṇa bhayamta-[1]Ghos(a)ṇa atevasiniye
L 2 pavaitikā[2] a P(o)[3]ṇakiassaṇāa theriya leṇa
L 3 ----- pāniyapoḍhi cha deyadhama saha bhagi --
L 4 niya saha cha ---- (bhātuhi)[4] (samaṇa)[5] pāpaakehi chātu
L 5 dise bhikhusaghe patiṭhāpitā (tāpitaro udi)
L 6 sa (1) akhayanivi cha saghasa dinā kāhāpaṇa satāni (be)
L 7 eto chiarika solasaka paḍiko māse cha utukāle sava -
L 8 l(o)kasa hitasughatha

1. medial 'a' is quite visible.
2. These letters are not visible at present.
3. The letter 'Po' is visible.
4. The letters are faintly seen.
5. Bühler has taken the word as *'samaṇa'* and *'upāsaka'*

Translation

Success! a cave and a water cistern, have been excavated for the community of ascetics from the four quarters, as the meritorious gift of the female ascetic, the theri Poṇakisaṇā, the pupil of the thera, the reverend Ghoṣa (she being associated) with (her) sister, and with her brothers who entered into monkhood (śrāmaṇaya prapādakaihi) for the benefit of her parents. A perpetual endowment has been given to the community of monks, viz. two hundred Kārsāpaṇas. Out of (interest of) that one sixteenth share (shall be given) for clothes and the value of one Kārṣāpaṇa (each month) in the right season (the grant has been made) for the welfare and happiness of the whole world.

★ Inscription No. 35 : Cave No.59 : (Fig.No. 28)

The inscription is on the left hand side-wall, outside the verandah of the Cave No. 59. The inscription is distinct but not deeply cut. It measures 99 cm. × 30 cm. Letters 3 cm. × 4.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters *'a', 'ka'* have elongated forms.

Text

L 1 -----thoṇakā (ṇa) (therā) ṇa (bha) yata Hā(la) kāṇa ma ----
L 2 -----tisa kaṇhasa deyadhamaṁ leṇaṁ p(o)ḍh(i)k(o)ḍhi (cha)
L 3 -----(pa) tiṭhāpitā (l) akhayanivi cha dinā kāhāpaṇāṇa -----
L 4 ----- satā sa(ghe) eto cha bhikhusaghe chevarika dātava bārasa --
L 5 (ka ---- ---- ----)
sa savalokahitasukhāya ti

Translation

A cave, a cistern, and a hall have been excavated, as the meritorious gift of Kaṇha (kṛṣṇa). ------ of the thera the reverend Hālaka and a perpetual endowment of hundreds of Kārṣāpaṇas has been given. Out of (the interest of) one twelfth share shall be given to the community of ascetics for clothes. (The grant has been made) for the welfare and happiness of all people.

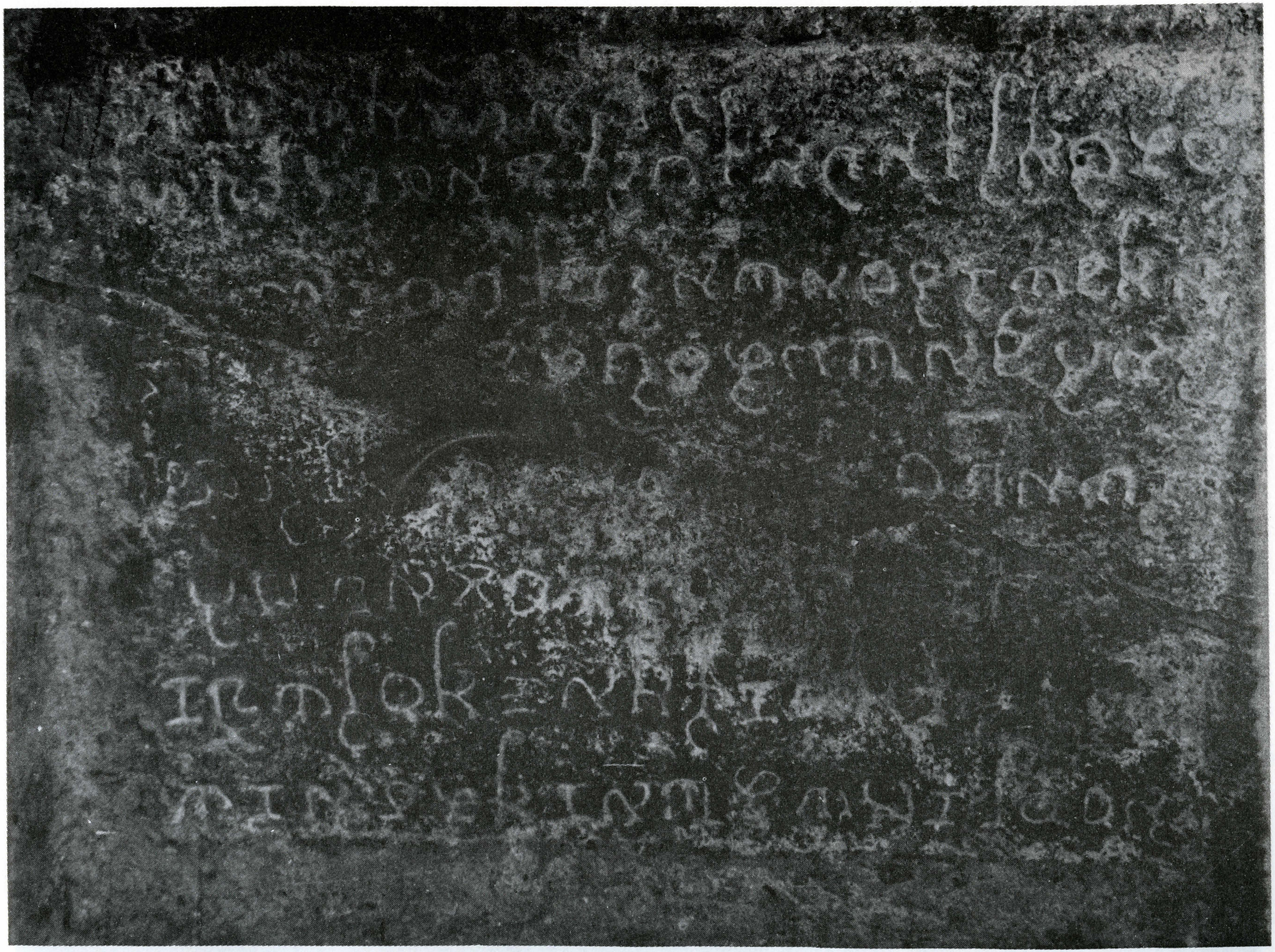
Burgess has rightly restored the first two lines as follows:

L1-2. (siddhaṁ Kali) aṇaka (na) (thera) na (bha) yata Hā(la) kaṇa aṁ (tevasi) sa Kaṇhasa.

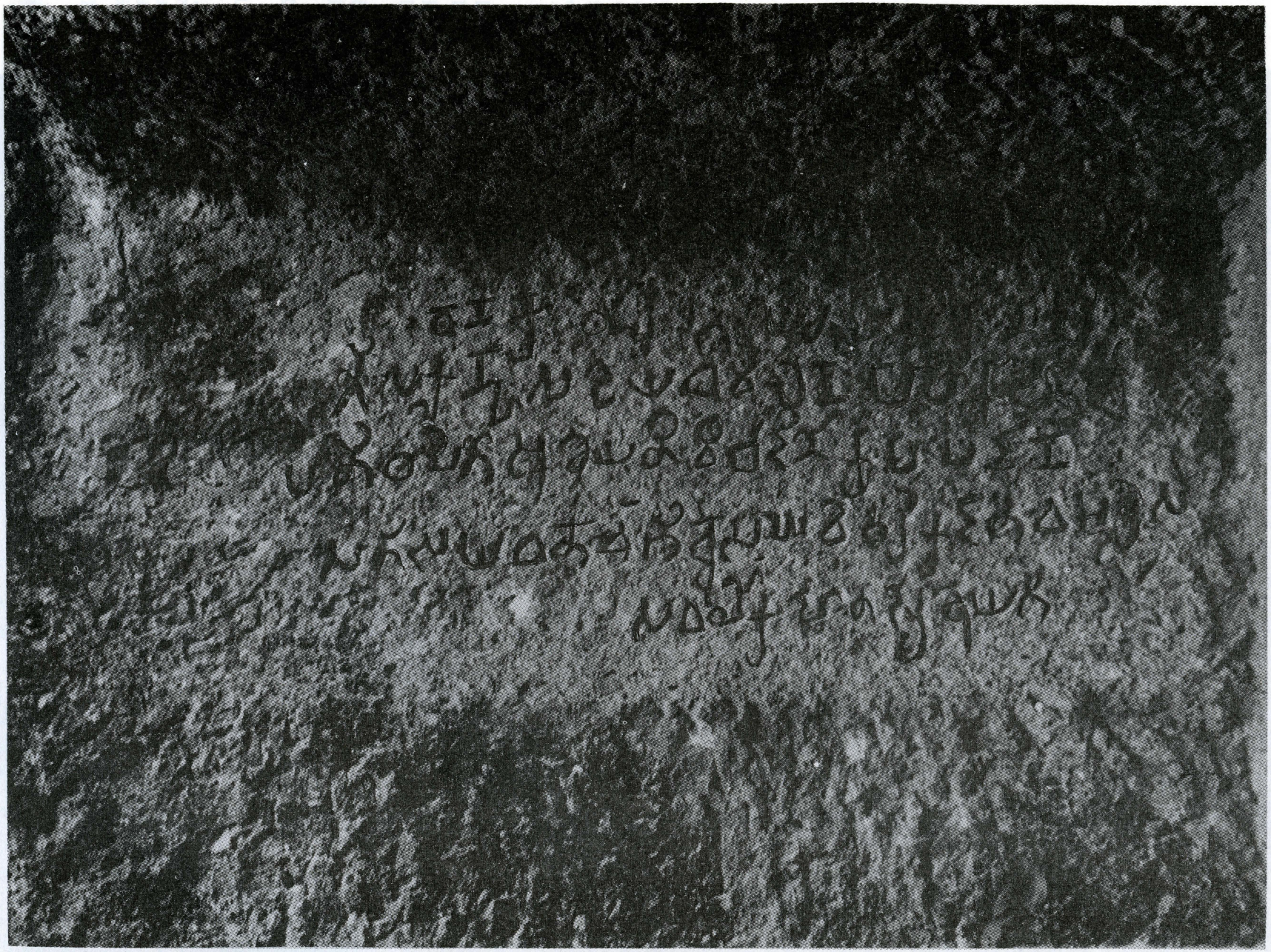
The name Kaṇha indicates the evidence for the worship of Kṛṣṇa in Konkan region.

Inscription – Cave No.60

The inscription of nine lines is on the left side wall outside the verandah of Cave No. 60. The inscription is



Inscription No. 34, Figure No. 27, Cave No. 54



Inscription No. 35, (eyecopy) Figure No. 28, Cave No. 59

indistinct and faintly cut and at present nothing could be made out.

△ Inscription No. 36 : Cave No. 66

The inscription is on the back of recess over the tank on the left hand of the entrance of Cave No. 66. It is faintly cut. It is indistinct and completely illegible. It measures 1.52 m. × 48 cm. Letters 7 cm. × 3 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The inscription is fragmentary and does not call for any remark.

Text

L 1 tasa
L 2 -- -- -- mitasa

The inscription is too fragmentary to make out any sense.

△ Inscription No. 37 : Cave No. 64 (Fig.No.29)

The inscription is on the right wall, outside the verandah of Cave No. 64. The Bombay Gazetter records that the inscription was of eight or nine lines but at present there are only three lines. The other lines might have been mutilated naturally or disappeared in the plastering work made by the Archaeological Survey Office. It measures 84 cm. × 35.5 cm. Letters 3 cm. × 4 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The medial 'i' in the word *'Pāniya'* is written stylistically.

Text

L 1 sa samakasa dhutu (sa)
L 2 ----- ka vasatasa
L 3 Leṇa deyadhama ---- pāniya

Translation

The inscription records the gift of a cave and a cistern by the daughter of Samaka.

★ Inscription No. 38 : Cave No. 65 : (Fig.No.30)

The inscription is on the right hand-side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. 65. The inscription is deeply cut and distinct but it is broken at the right hand end and therefore the last letters in each line are illegible. It measures 1.10 m. × 71 cm. Letters 5 cm. × 7.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deep.
There is no distinction between *'ta'* and *'na'*. Blank space is left after the words.

Text

L 1 Sidh (ṁ) upāsakasa Dheṇukākaṭ (i) yasa kula[1](piyasa)
L 2 (Dha) maṇakasa dhutuya pavaitikāya Sāpā (ya the)
L 3 rāṇa bhadata Bodhikāṇa Ponakāṇo[2] ātevāsini(ya)
L 4 leṇa deyadhama pāniyapodhi cha saha bhagi(niya)
L 5 Ratinikāya saha cha savena nātisabadhi (vage)
L 6 na chātudise bhikhusaghe atha Aparise[3]
L 7 lesu patiṭhāpita mātapitaro udisa sava (satāṇa)
L 8 hitasughatha (ll) bhikhusaghasa akhayanivi cha dinā eto cha (bhikhu)
L 9 saṅghāṇa chivarika dātava solasaka utukāle cha - - - -

1. The letters 'kula' can be read.
2. L.3. The name Poṇakisaṇā occurs in the inscription in Cave No. 54.
3. Dikshit has correctly read the name of the saṅgha as - - - Aparisela, *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XVIII, p.7.
4. Dhenukākaṭa – is Dhānyakaṭaka - in Andhra Pradesh, which is mentioned in Karle inscription.

Translation

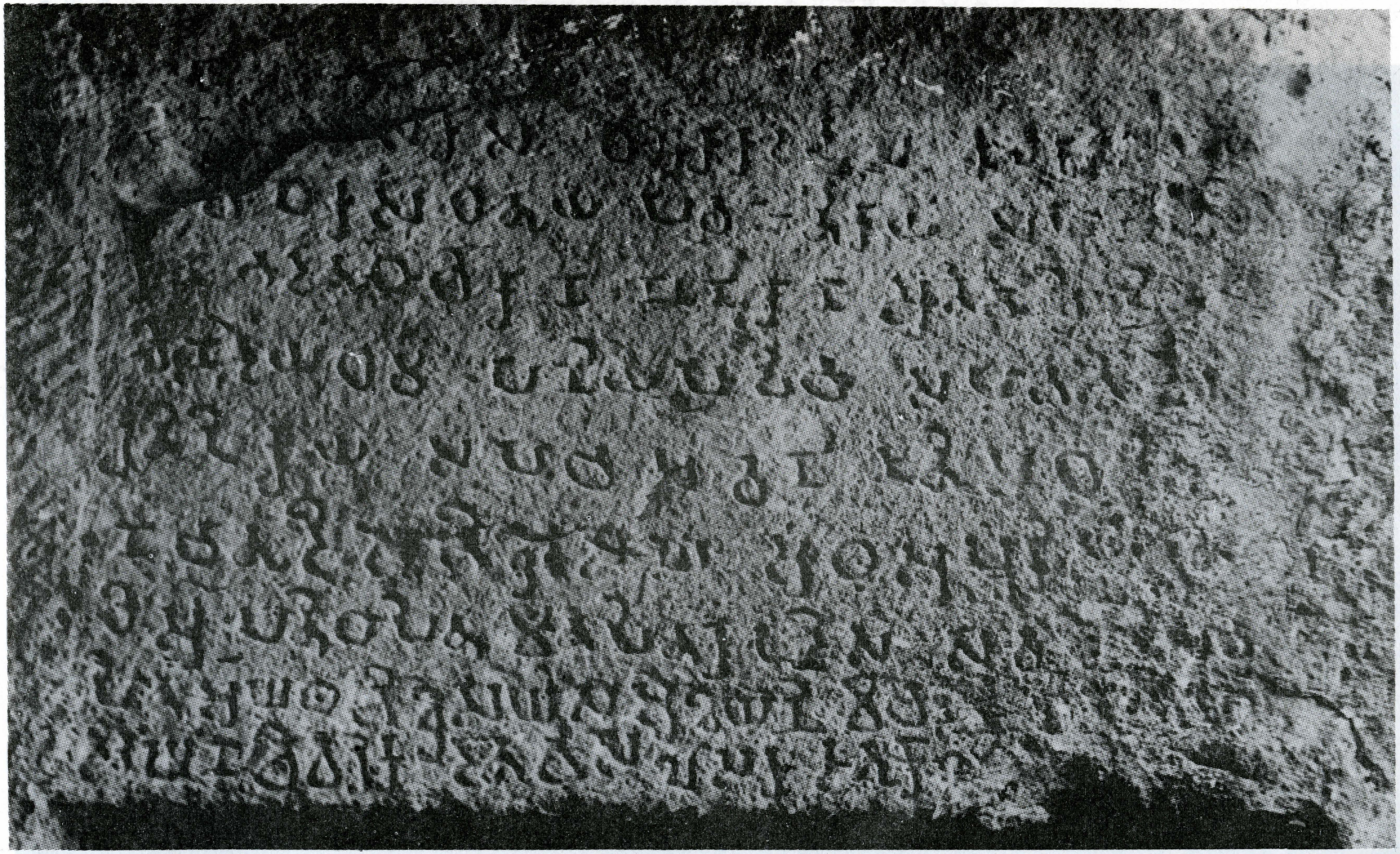
Success ! By the female ascetic Sāpā (Sarpā), the daughter of the lay-worshipper and inhabitant of Dhenukākaṭa, Kulapiya (Kulapriya), Dhamaṇaka (Dharma), and the pupil of the thera, the reverend Bodhika (she being associated) with her sister Ratinikā and with the whole number of her relations and connections, a cave and a water cistern have been excavated (as) a meritorious gift, for the community of ascestics of Aparaśaila from the four quarters of the horizon ---- for the benefit of her parents and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. And a permanent endowment has been given to the community of ascetics; and out of (the interest of) that (a share of) sixteen shall be given to the community of ascestics for clothes, and in the season ----

★ Inscription No. 39 : Cave No. 66 : (Fig.No. 31)

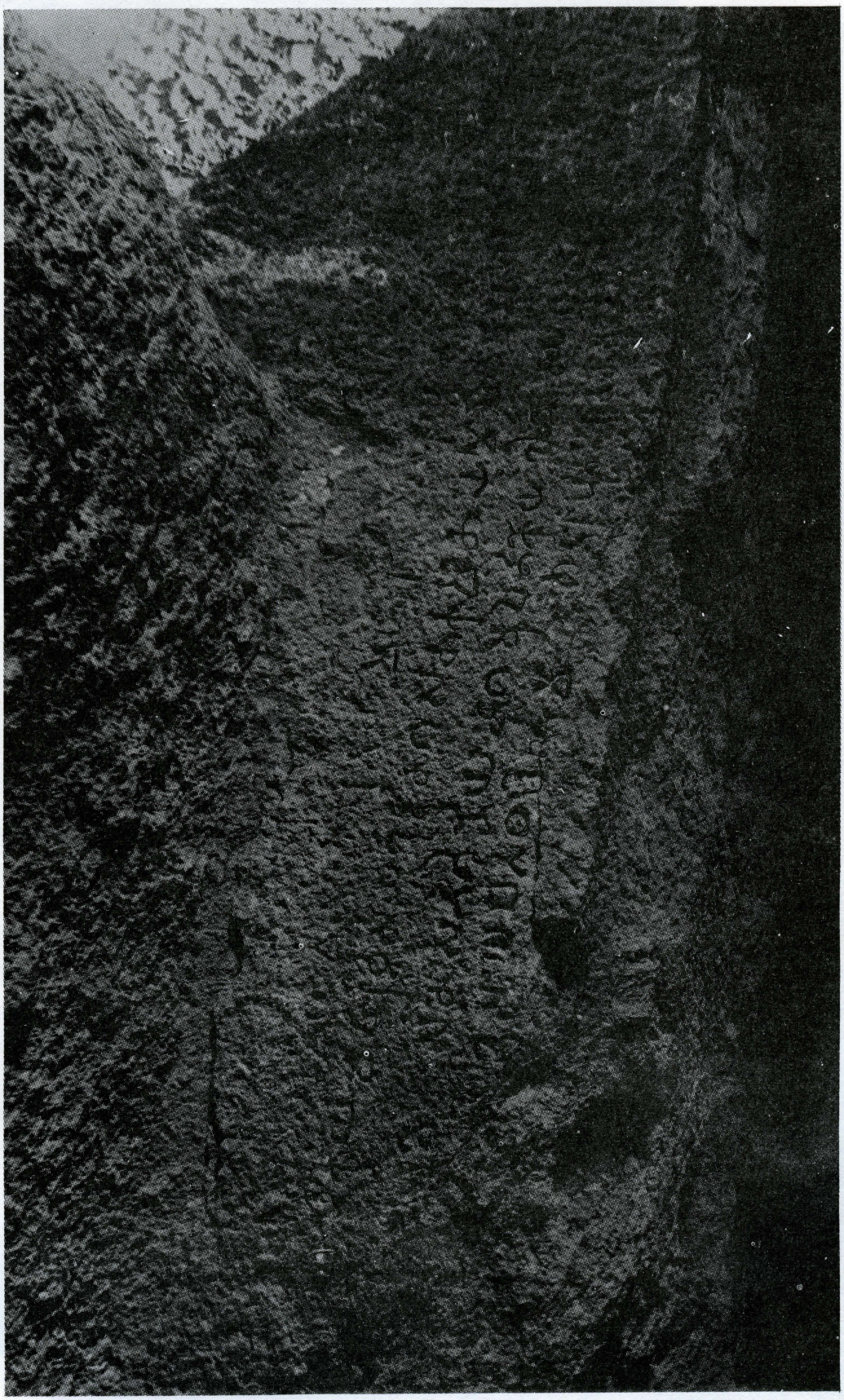
The inscription is on the right-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. 66. The inscription is faintly cut on the rough surface and therefore, is not distinct. Nearly most of the letters of first line have been peeled off. It measures 1.4 m × 40 cm. Letters 5 cm. × 3 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī of 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Both 'ta' and 'na' have a loop. The medials are faintly visible.

Inscription No. 37, Figure No. 29, Cave No. 64



Inscription No. 38, Figure No. 30, Cave No. 65



Inscription No. 39, (eyecopy) Figure No. 31, Cave No. 66

Text

L 1 - - - - - - sa - - - - i pula - - - -
- - - - sava - - - - ma

L 2 - - - sa dasamiya etā (ya) puvāya mahārā (ja) bālikāya

L 3 bā - - - (likā) - - - ya - - - mahārathiniya khaṁdanāgashataka-mātuya mahā (bho) jasa (Ahi)

L 4 (jasa) (?) cha Dheṇaseṇasa (?) bhaginiya Nāgamulani (kā) ya leṇa deyadhama

L 5 - - - - -bhikusaghe paṭithāpita(m) mā (tup) i(ta) ra (udi) sa kā-eṇa a - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
"- - - - - - - - on the 10th (lunar day).

Translation

On the above (date) Nāgamūlanikā (Nāgamūla), daughter of the great king and daughter of the Mahābhoji, wife of the Mahārathi, mother of Khandanāgasátaka (Skandanāgaśataka) and sister of Mahābhoja Ahija (?) Dheṇaseṇa (Dhanasena) excavated a cave (as) a meritorious gift for the community of ascetics - - - - for the benefit of her parents - - - - -

★ Inscription No. 40 : Cave No. 73 : (Fig. No.32)

The inscription is on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. 73 over and between two grated windows. There is another short line over one of the windows. It measures 2.21 m. × 84 cm. Letters 6 cm. × 5.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deeply cut on the rough surface. It is interesting to note that there is a punctuation mark of two vertical lines to indicate the end of sentence. There are two forms of 'ta' with loop and without loop.

Text

L 1 Sidhaṁ Kaliaṇakasa nagamasa Golaṇakaputasa nagamasa Isipālasa
L 2 Saparivārasa matāpitunaṁ
L 3 puyatha leṇa poḍhi cha deyadhaṁ
L 4 ma ll akhayanivi cha dinā gāme
L 5 Saphāusu Kheta thapati (l) eto
L 6 cha vasa-uthasa chivarika bārasaka
L 7 gimhāsu paḍiko māse seseṇa
L 8 maṭape pavāḍe cha paḍiagitava

Translation

Success ! a cave and a cistern, meritorious gifts of the merchant Risipāla (Isipāla) (who is associated) with his family, the son of the merchant Golaṇaka, an inhabitant of Kalyan, in honour of his parents. A perpetual endowment has been given viz. a field in the village of Saphaü and out of that one-twelfth share shall be given to the ascetics who were living[1] for four months (vassāvāsa) for clothes in the hot season, one Kārṣāpaṇa each month, with the remaining amount the minor repairs shall be done in the *'maṇḍapa'* and *'pravāḍa.*

It is interesting to note that the inscription is written in the porch (maṇḍapa) and just above the two windows (pravāḍa) in the cave.

The village Saphau is modern saphale near Virar, but the inscription does not mention the measurement of the field.

'Maṇḍapa' and *'Pavāḍa'* are the two architectural terms in the inscription.

1. Bühler has translated it as – who keeps vasso.

★ Inscription No. 41 : Cave No. 74 : (Fig. No.33)

The inscription is on the right-hand side wall outside the Verandah of Cave No. 74. It is cut on a somewhat honey-combed surface. It measures 1.17 m. × 89 cm. Letters 6 cm. × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 3rd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are having elongated forms.

Text

L 1 Sidhaṁ raño Ma (Mā) ḍhariputasa svāmi sakasenasa ---

L 2 Savachhare 8 gimha pakhe diva 10 etāya puvāya ka –

L 3 liyaṇakasa nekamasa Veṇhunaṁdisa putasa nega –

L 4 masa gahapatisa - - - - tisa l(e) ṇa pa (ti)thāpi - - -

L 5 ta sahā Āryyak(e)ṇa - - - - sena sahā pitu (ṇā) Veṇhuṇa - - -

L 6 dinā sahā mātuye Bodhisamāya sahā bhā

L 7 (tunā - - -) hathinā sahā (sa) vena (n) i ka(yeneti)

Translation

Success – On the tenth day of the fifth fortnight of the hot season in the eighth year of the king, the lord Sakasena, the son of the queen Madhari (Māḍhari) race. On the above (day) the merchant and house holder . . . . . ti, the son of the merchant Viṣṇunandin Veṇhunaṁdi an inhabitant of Kalyan made a cave (he being associated) with the venerable . . . . with his father Viṣṇunandin, with his mother Bodhisamā with his brother . . . . hastin (hathi) and with all his relatives.

Inscription No. 40, Figure No. 32, Cave No. 73

Inscription No. 41, (eye copy) Figure No. 33, Cave No. 74

★ Inscription No. 42 : Cave No. 74 : (Fig. No.34)

The inscription is on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. 74.

The inscription is very faint on an uneven surface of the rock. It is in mutilated condition. It refers to the donation of the son of Veṇhunandi. The inscription measures 1.2 m. × 1.7 m. Letters 8 cm × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 3rd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters show peculiarities of early 3rd Century Brāhmī. The letters have elongated verticals, letters *'pa'* and *'ha'* have flat base.

Text

L 1 Sadha ra - - - Ma (dhariputasa svāmi sakase - - -)
L 2 (nasa) - - - - -
(di) Vā 10 etāyi
L 3 - - - - -
- - - - vaṭhaveya Veṇhunandiputra
L 4 (sa) - - - - - - sa bhajāya Hālaṇikā le - -
L 5 (ṇa patithapita sa) hā Āyyakena.
La - - - - sa - - - -
L 6 - - - - - - vasatena[1] Dhāmaye saha
L 7 - - - - - - - Budhakayena saha vi
- - - - - -

At present some letters are not visible but I have retained the reading of Burgess.

1. the letters *'Vasatena'* are clear.

Translation

The inscription is on the opposite side of the cave it records the gift of the second room attached to the larger one by the wife of the donor mentioned in the preceding inscription which is on the right-hand side of the cave.

△ Inscription No. 43 : Cave No 75 : (Fig No.35)

The inscription is on the left wall of the cave No. 75, outside the verandah over a cistern. The inscription consisting of ten lines is written on the dressed portion measuring 87 cm × 94 cm on the rock but due to heavy rains and the porus nature of the stone, at many places the letters have been mutilated. The letters are extremely shallow, worn out and hence the reading of the inscription is extremely difficult.

Characters :

The alphabets which are employed in this inscription belong to 3rd century A.D. Palaeographically the present record, despite of few noticeable differences is not far removed in point of time from the other records at Kanheri but the elongated vertical limbs in the lettrers 'a' and 'ka', 'ra' – indicate the later phase of 2nd century A.D. and the beginning of 3rd century A.D.

Language : Prakrit.

Orthography : There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. The last word in the last line 'sughatha' must be 'sukhatha' and it may be a scribal mistake.

Text

L 1 Sidhaṁ Upāsakasa Kaliaṇasa Nadaṇaputasa
L 2 gahapatisa seṭhisa Achalasa ghariṇi
L 3 Lavanikāyā saparivārāya deyadhama Leṇi
L 4 pānipapoḍhi nhāṇapodhi kalivāṇa Abālikasa
L 5 nivāsaṇa leṇasa akhayanivi kāhāpaṇāṇi
L 6 Sataṇi tiṇi ȧkhayanivi bhikhusagham deya-dhamṁ
L 7 Savāsa tiṇi ------- ḍhi -- miya-ga-pā chi
L 8 Varika hi poḍhi ----- deyadhama chi
L 9 Varika chātudisa bhikhusagha mātapítunā
L 10 Puñatha savaśatahita sughatha.

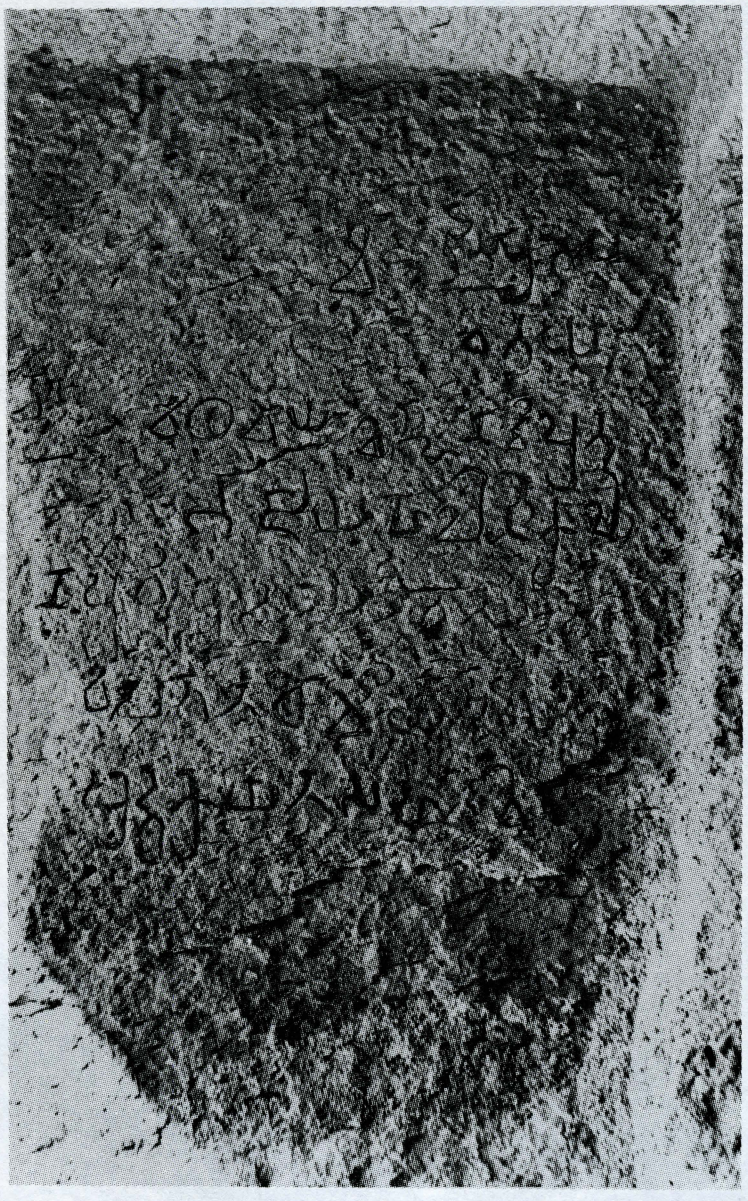
Translation

Success! Lavanikā the wife of upāsaka sethi Achala resident of Kalyan, made a meritorious donation of a cave, cistern and a tank for bath, for the welfare of all the family members.

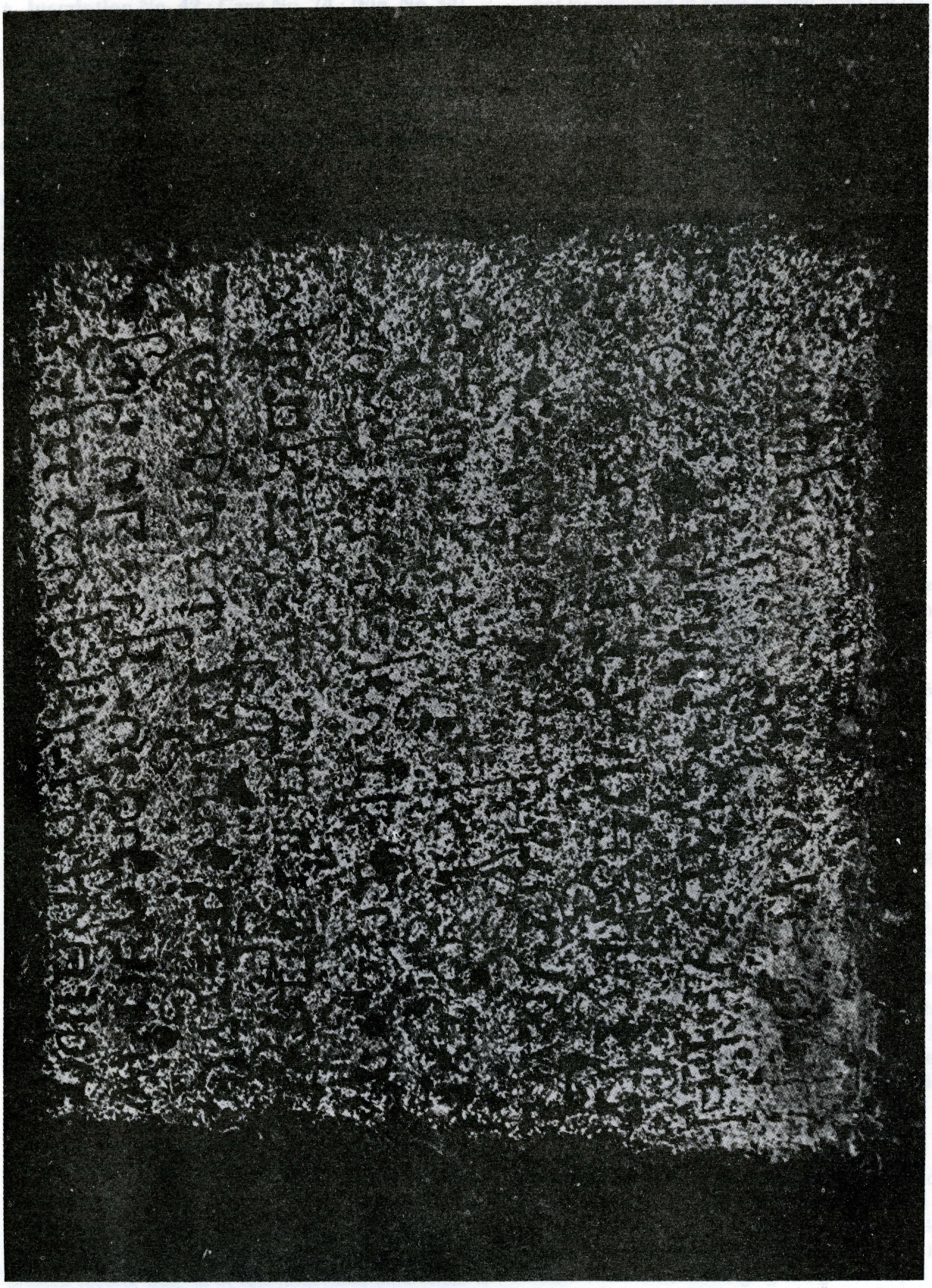
At Kalyan, for the monks residing at 'Ambālikāvihāra, made a permanent donation of three hundred *Kārṣapaṇas* for the distribution of old cloths (Chivarikas) in the honour of her parents and for the welfare of all living beings.

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a cave to the Chātudisa Bhikhusaṁgha, a cistern and a bathing cistern by Lavaṇikā, the wife of Achala, a merchant son of Nandana, a householder, an inhabitant of Kalyan, made an endowment of 300 karṣāpaṇas to 'Abālikāvihara' to defray the cost of clothes of monks, in honour of her mother, father and for the benefit of all.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it records the name of the Vihara at Kalyan as 'Ambālikā'. It is interesting to note that in the cluster of Western Indian caves, Kanheri inscriptions have recorded the names of caves. The present inscription along with the name of Vihāra as Ambālikā records its exact location at Kalyan. Naming of Buddhist establishments is quite an old tradition in ancient India. The names of Buddhist Establishments such as *'Ghoṣitārāma'* and 'Jetavana' are quite well-known and they have appeared in inscriptions also. An inscription[1] from Kaushambi belonging to 1st Century A.D. records



Inscription No. 42, (eye copy) Figure No. 34, Cave No. 74



Inscription No. 43, (eye copy) Figure No. 35, Cave No. 75

the name of the Buddhist establishment as *'Ghoṣitārāma'* which was believed at that time to have been the spot of Buddha's residence. Another instance may be quoted from the 6th Century fragmentary copper-plate of the Chandra[2] dynasty. It records a gift of a village, which was placed in charge of the fraternity of the holy monks of all lands including elders of *Jetavana* etc. The 'Vihāra' at Kalyan was named as 'Ambālikā', but nothing is known about Ambālikā. There are three possibilities. Either Ambalikā might be a great nun or she might be a wife of a moneyed donor or she might have donated it herself. The Ambālikā Vihara at Kalyan is mentioned thrice in the inscriptions at Kanheri but so far the site of the vihāra had not been located. The Bombay Gazetter[3] notes that the raised site to the west of the Ambaranath temple has been identified as the Ambalikā Vihāra. The want of mortar, the cross-corner style of the dome-ceiling, the bits of carving that have been roughly worked in, were taken from some of the older buildings, perhaps the Buddhist monestery of Ambalikā, which is mentioned in the inscription of Kanheri caves stood on the raised side to the west of the temple enclosure. But the remains at Ambarnath suggest the existence of ancient temple and not of a 'Vihāra'. The famous Ambivali caves are 8 km. to the south-east of Kalyan. They are cut in a low hill forming the concave side of a curve on the bank of the river Ulhas. The main cave overlooks the river. It consists of a large square hall about 6.30 m. × 6 m × 1.50 m having four cells opening from each of its three sides, twelve cells in all. There are five inscriptions on the pillars in the veranda of the Vihāra Cave. On the basis of palaeography, the caves have been assigned to 2nd – 3rd century A.D. by Dikshit.[4] Around these three sides runs a low bench similar to that of the Cave No. 2 at Kanheri. The inscription of the left hand gate-post at Kanheri, along with the mention of other donations, specifically mentions that a chaitya, a hall of reception (Uposthaśālā) cells for the monks (ovaraka) were built at Ambālikāvihāra. This epigraphical evidence and the stylistic similarity between the architectural features of the caves at Kanheri and Ambivale caves suggest that 'Ambālikāvihāra' must have been located at Ambivale.

Kalyan was the principal port during the Sātavāhana period. It has been referred to by Periplus[5] and Ptolemy.[6] The middle of 2nd century A.D. was the time of the discovery of the quick passage to and fro from the east by the Monsoon which gave a great impetus to commercial enterprises. From Kalyan the Naneāghat pass was easily accessible and hence Kalyan became the flourishing trade-centre during the Sātavāhana period. It may further be noted that there were at least twelve donors from Kalyan. It is noteworthy[7] that the inscription on the left-hand gate-post of the Chaitya-cave at Kanheri, which has recorded the list of endowments at Sopara, Ambālikāvihāra at Kalyan and Paithan has followed the ancient trade-route from Sopara to Paithan. When Kalyan was a port, there was every possibility that the course of the Ulhas river from Kalyan which is about 20 Kms upstream could have been navigable. This is suggested by the fact that the present bed-level of the Ulhas river is nowhere higher than 3 to 6 m. above mean sea-level. Similar type of creeks not much above sea level were affected by tidal functions and were navigable to a distance of about 20 kms. upstream from its mouth. Near Ambivale, the river Ulhas must be having perennial water. The volume of water near Ambivale might be great during the Sātavāhana period, as Kalyan, the major port not situated far away from the caves and besides, effects of tidel activity might have facilitated the traders to anchor their ships near the Ambivale caves which were used as rest-houses. It may, therefore, be inferred that Ambālikāvihāra which has been described in the inscription as Vihāra of 'Chātudisa-Bhikhusaṁgha' might also be a great halting station of traders.

The word 'Chātudisa' has been rightly interpreted by Senart.[8] He has suggested that 'Chātudisa' is not a king of Epitheon ornans, a common-place formula. The expression has an intentional meaning. It signifies the cleargy of every origin, i.e. the clergy in its universality beyond all particular limitations. Monastic communities were classified in two respects, according to their residence and according to the sect to which they belong. This double restriction is excluded in principle by the mention of *Chātudisa* Sangha. Kanheri physically vulnerable from all directions was a fitting place for *Chātudisa Saṅgha.* Of course, there are two endowments to Bhadrāvaṇiya sangha at Kanheri. At Nasik[9] donations were given for the support of *Bhadrāvaṇiya Saṅgha.* At Karle, a cave was donated for the support of the brotherhood contributed by the Mahāsāṅghikas. As such the Buddha himself was the originator of the idea of 'Chātudisasaṅgha' and he asked Anāthapiṇḍaka to establish Jetavana Vihāra for Chātudisa Saṅgha.[10] But in western Indian caves the Nasik inscription of Nahapana first refers to 'Chātudisa Saṅgha'. This was the time when western India came in contact with foreigners by trade and by political invasion.

The name of donor is Lavanikā seems to be after the place name Lona, modern Lonad, which is mentioned in a Śilāhāra inscription. The Śilāhāra king[11] Aparāditya made a grant in favour of god Loṇāditya. Another king Mallikārjuna[12] repaired the garden at Loṇa. Lona, modern Lonad, is approximately 7 kms north-east from

Kalyan and it is situated on the left bank of the Ulhas river. Lavanikā might have hailed from Lona. Similar instances may be quoted such as Avanti-Avantikā, Malava-Mālavikā in Sanskrit literature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.:

My thanks are due to Dr. S.N. Rajaguru and Dr. R.S. Pappu for their valuable suggestions regarding the ancient behaviour of the river Ulhas and I am thankful to Mr. Suresh Jadhav who helped in the identification of the 'Ambālikāvihāra'.

△ Inscription No. 44 : Cave No. 80 (Fig. No. 36)

The inscription is on the right hand side-wall, outside the verandah of Cave No. 80. It is deeply cut. The upper three lines and a part of the next two lines have been peeled off. It measures 82 cm × 1.12 m. Letters 4 cm. × 4 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters *'ta'* and *'na'* have the same form. In line No. 1, West has copied the word *'Saghasa'* but at present these letters are not in existence.

Text

L1. Sa ----
L2. Pāla nāvinakeṇa vasa ----
L3. tenāttaṇā cha vi---su---maha---
L4. Aṭanasa saghārtha cha negama Navinakeṇa ---saha
L5. cha mātuya pavachātikāya Dāmāyāya yeva akha
L6. nivi cha leṇaṁ datāni savasatāṇaṁ hitasu
L7. ghartha akhayanivi cha dinā

Translation
The inscription records the meritorious gift of a cave by the merchant Navinaka in honour of his mother. It further records the permanent endowment and a cave for the welfare of all living beings. The mother of Navinaka, Dāmāryā by name was Pavajitā.

△ Inscription No. 45 : Cave No. 81 (Fig. No. 37)

The inscription is on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. 81 above a recess over a tank. This inscription is deeply cut on a honey-combed surface but the central portion of the inscription is peeled off. It measures 1.7 m × 50 cm. Letters 6 cm × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deeply cut and have a serif on the top of the letters. There is no distinction between the letters *'ta'* and *'na'*, medial 'i' is written in ornamental style. Instead of 'ga' in the word *'Negama'* the letter 'ka' has been used.

Text

L1. ----- sa sethisa
L2. mi ---- pusamitasa
L3. ----- nekamasa ga
L4. hapati ---- leṇam po (ḍhi)
L5. ------ deyadhama
L6. ------ (mātā) pitaro udisa
L7. ---- -- ta ---- -- sasa
L8. ---- rata ---- po (ḍhi) cha dinā

Translation
It is the meritorious gift by Sethi Pusamita of a cave and a water cistern in honour of his parents.

★ Inscription No. 46 : Cave No. 86 (Fig. No. 38)

The inscription is of one line on the back wall of the open gallery just by the side of the cemetary. The inscription is deeply cut on the honey-combed surface and commemorates the dedication of the cave by Nāgapālita, a jeweller from Sopara along with his family. The Inscription measures 1.79 m × 8 cm. Letters 7 cm × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The medial *'i'* in the word *parivāra* is written in ornamental style. Burgess has pointed out that the alphabets are about the time of Puḷumāvi.

Text

L1. (siddhaṁ sop) ā rayakasa maṇikārasa Nāgapālitasa saparivārasa leṇaṁ[1] deyadhama.

Translation
Success ! Meritorious gift of a cave by Nāgapālita, a jeweller from sopara, along (who is associated) with his family.

1. Anusvāra is quite visible.

★ Inscription No. 47 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 39)

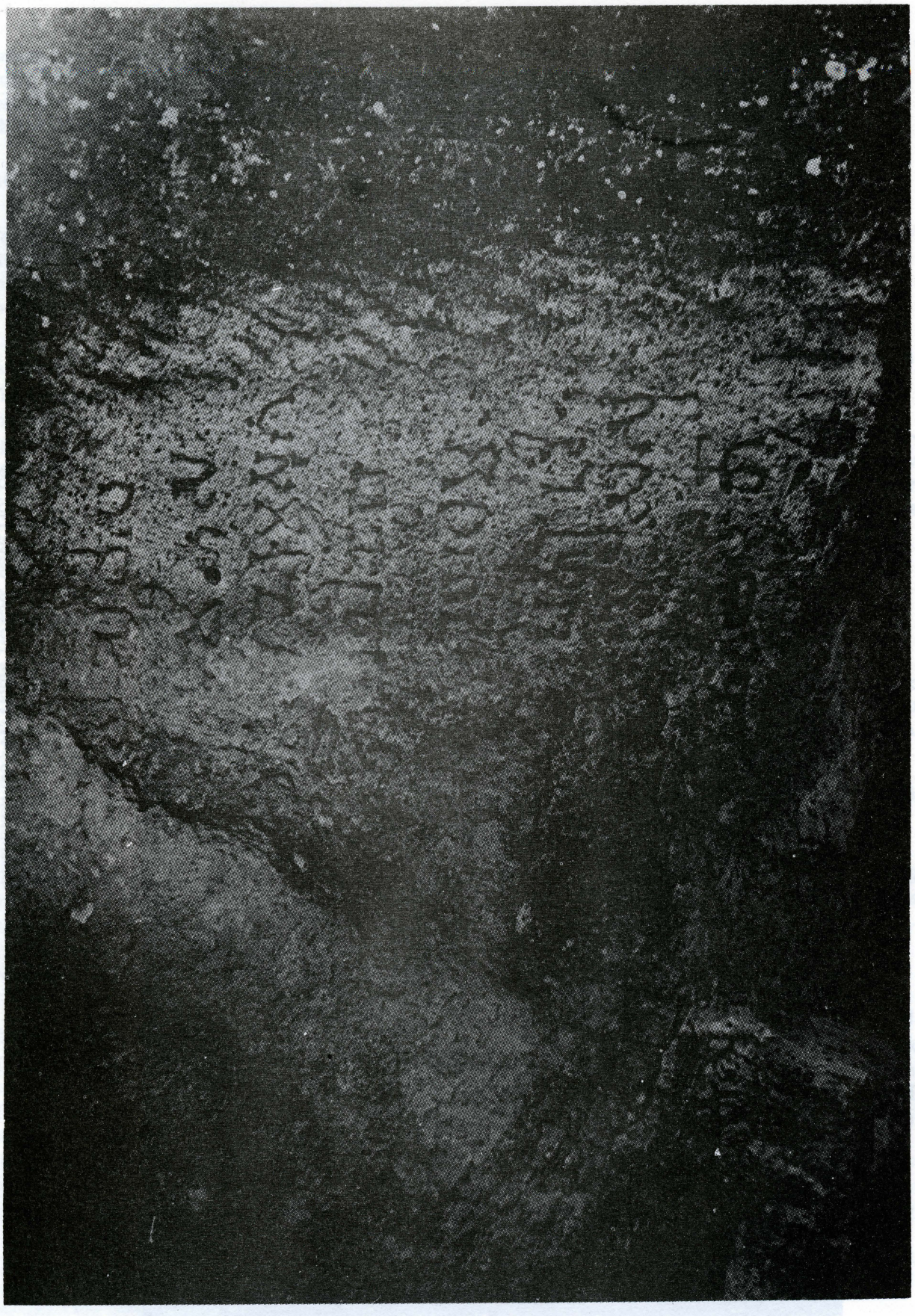
The inscription is of one line. On the rock near the entrance to the *Nirvāṇavīthī.* The inscription is deeply cut and written near the foot prints of the Buddha. It measures 39 cm. × 12 cm. Letters 15 cm × 7 cm. Footprints 38 cm. × 15 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The medial *'i'* is written in slightly ornamental style.

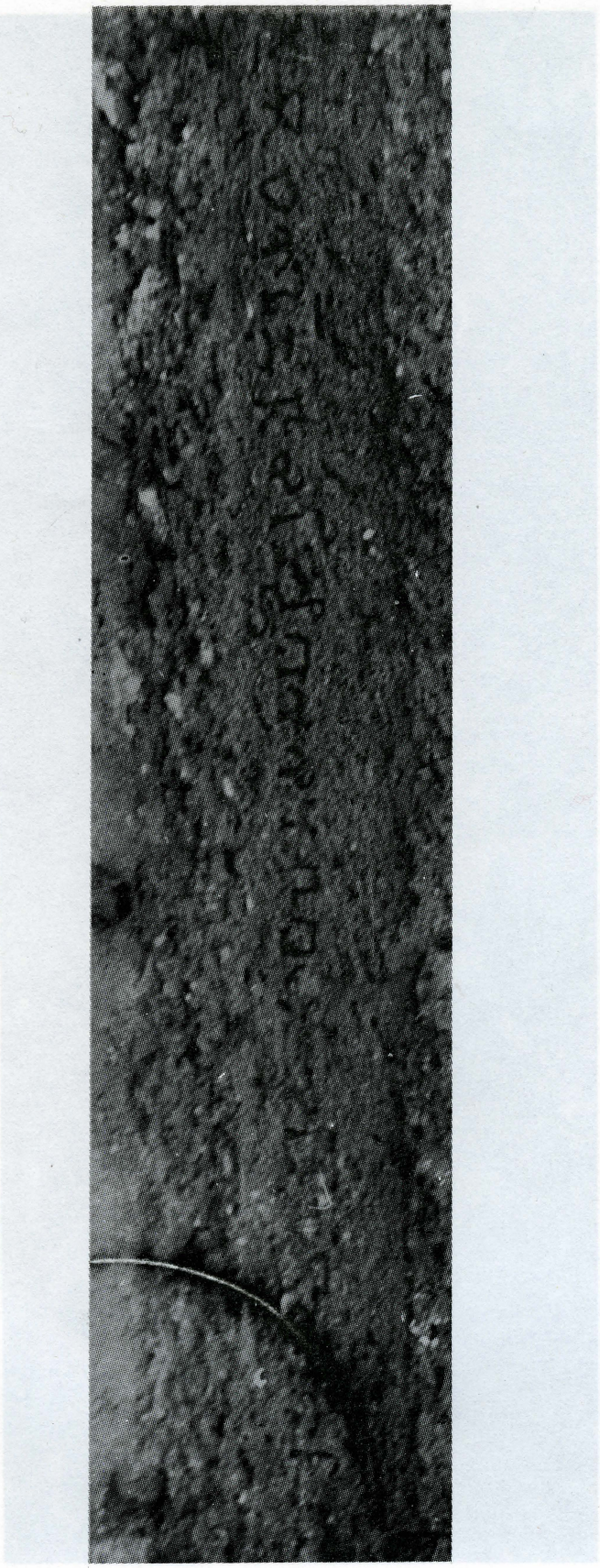
Text

L1. Parigahitā

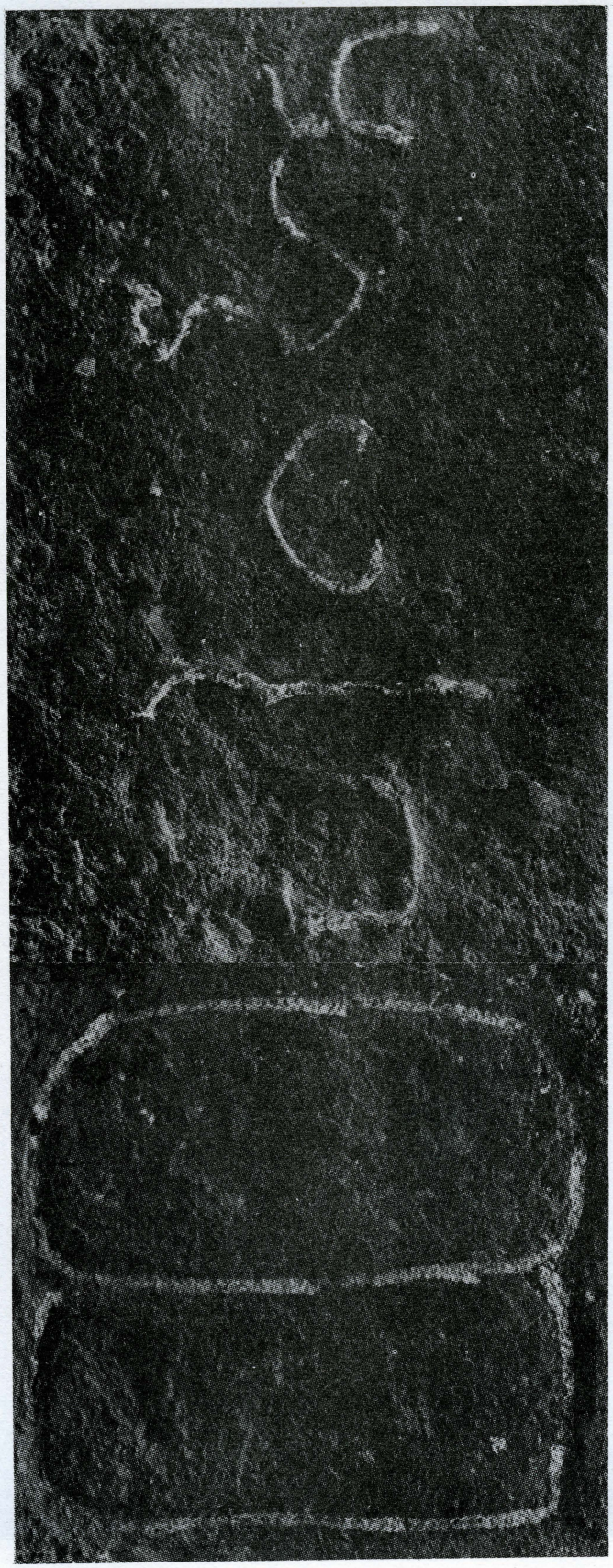
Inscription No. 44, Figure No. 36, Cave No. 80



Inscription No. 45, Figure No. 37, Cave No. 81



Inscription No. 46, Figure No. 38, Cave No. 86



Inscription No. 47, Figure No. 39, Cave No. 87

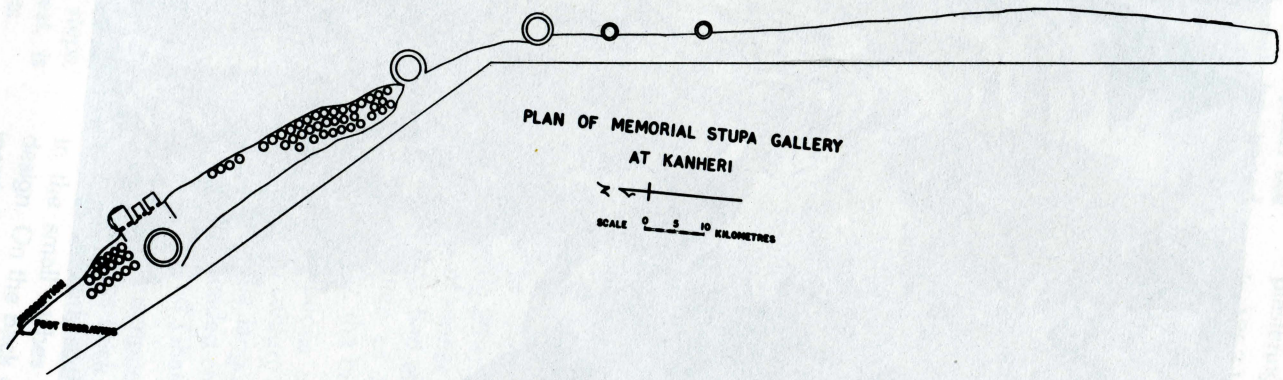


Plate No. 9) Plan of Cemetary Cave No. 87

Plate No. 10) Cemetary Cave No. 87

Translation
(The monk) blessed by the feet of the Master.

+ Inscription No. 48 :

The inscription was of two lines cut on the circular edge of a flat segmented stone dug out of the ruines of the large built and sculptured dagoba in the cemetary. West has noted the following details of the inscription but unfortunately the inscription could not be traced anywhere. Observations are made here with the help of eye copy of west. According to him, it measured 46 cm. × 13 cm.

Characters : Cursive characters of 9th century A.D.
Language : Prakrit

Text

L1. Swasti 931 Asvin Sudha 13
L2. naumita kama Itamasuta kemapaiḍa

Translation
Dated śaka 931 Asvin Sudha 13.
Itamasuta Kemapaiḍa son of Navakarmika.

It appears that the cemetary was in use even in the early parts of 10th Century A.D.

+ Inscription No. 49-50 :

West has noted that these inscriptions are cut in fine lines upon a smooth surface but the stone is corroded at the right hand end. The second and third lines are not clear. Whereabouts of the inscriptions are not known.

West No.55,
Characters – Cursive characters of 9th Century

Text

L1. ma saṁvat
L2. na vedi de (yadharma)

West No. 56 The inscription records two letters only.
L1. ----- suttah

The whereabouts of these inscriptions are not known.

Cave No 87

The burial-gallery (Nirvāṇavīthi) is a long terrace under the rock shelter in the south-western corner of the Kṛṣṇagiri hill (plate No. 9, 10). It is about 1.5 km. from the main chaitya and approachable by rock-cut steps. The front portion of the rock-shelter, facing west, is completely washed away by the monsoon torrents.

The burial-gallery, whose floor is covered with bricks and brick-dust is about 180 m in length. More than a hundred bases of brick stupas in the gallery are of three sizes : 1.80 m, 1.85m, and 1.35 m in diameter. They are constructed of large flat wedge-shaped bricks. Many stepped harmikās made of stone are strewn around the brick foundations. In this gallery, one-third of the distance from the north end is a sixteen-sided polygonal stupa, base measuring 6.6 m in diameter. the inner side of the rock shelter above this stupa has traces of a huge canopy. Behind it are three small chambers containing sculptures. In all these chambers, there are remains of plastering and traces of paintings.

In 1853 West excavated this stupa base, and the results were published in an excellent report.[1] West described the reliefs of the stupa, representing groups of lions, tigers, deer and krittimukhas. He further pointed out that a panel showing groups of Buddha images alternately teaching and in meditation, in each case with two attendant fly-whisk bearers, is divided by pillars in the Elephanta cave style.

West provided a detailed report on all the sculptural and archaeological remains of the brick stupas, which were erected in the memory of Buddhist monks. But the archaeological remains were not enough to admit any definite conclusion regarding the purpose of the brick stupas and their contribution to the general cultural complex. These remains were examined by scholars such as Fergusson,[2] Burgess,[3] and Bhagwanlal Indraji[4].

In 1975, when I visited Kanheri, I observed a few well-cut stone slabs lying in the valley in front of the burial-gallery. I decided to explore the valley to seek new inscriptions with the help of Vani the caretaker there. Our efforts were soon rewarded, and nearly twenty-two new inscriptions of great historical value came to our notice. The inscriptions are epitaphs averaging 25 cm × 16 cm in size. They immortalize the names of monks and note their scholastic merits or the stage they had attained in sainthood. They also record the erection of the stupas of monks. These stupas, apparently, the brick ones today in the burial-gallery.

The inscriptions are written either in the late fifth or early sixth century box-headed or nail-headed variety of Brāhmī. The language of all the inscriptions is Prakrit. The box-headed characters are closely related to those of Ajanta and Ghatotkacha cave inscriptions.

These new inscriptions provide excellent clue for dating the numerous brick stupas in the burial gallery to the late fifth or early sixth century A.D. Two rock-cut stupas in the small niches in the burial gallery are plain in design. On the back wall of this gallery, there is a small inscription which belongs to the second century A.D. It reads *'Parigahitā'* and is recorded together with the Buddha's footprints. This indicates that the funeral ground was in use over a considerable length of time.

While discussing the monuments of early Kalachuri period, Walter Spink[5] has offered the most eloquent

explanation, stating that the awe-inspiring excavation of Elephanta is the fitting symbol of the authority of the Kalachuri King Kṛṣṇarāja. He has pointed out a logical sequence between the abrupt end of the Mahāyāna caves at Ajanta, which was mainly due to the political unrest by the expansionist movement of the Kalachuri King Kṛṣṇarāja and resulted in concluding the cultural activities at Ajanta. Spink, studying comparatively the stylistic features of sculptures, iconographic traditions and architectural details of both Ajanta and Elephanta, has further shown that the massive Śaivite caves at Jogeśvari and Elephanta might have been excavated by the craftsmen trained during the Vākāṭaka regime who migrated to the Bombay area after the fall of the Vākāṭakas. These new inscriptions at Kanheri, which are written in the Vākāṭaka pen-style, provide the remarkable evidence supporting this hypothesis. As suggested by Spink, Buddhist monks also migrated to Kanheri for asylum. There they received new patronage and encouragement from the Kalachuris, who took great interest in architecture. This is evidenced by the Jogeśvari and Elephanta caves, which are not far from Kanheri. The Buddhas with inscriptions in cave no. 3 are very similar in style to those found at Ajanta. They suggest that the learned ācharyas did not forget their parent site. Under the patronage of the Kalachuris, the activities at Kanheri again resumed with greater vigour in the late fifth century. Thus, this period provided Kanheri with the most extraordinary episode in its long history.

Why did the Kanheri artisans opt for the unusual erection of brick stupas in memory of arhats ? A plausible explanation is provided by the copper-plate inscription[6] dated in the Traikuṭaka era 245 (494/495 A.D.). The copper plate was discovered by Bird in 1839 in the brick stupa immediately in front of the main caitya hall.

The copper plate records the construction of a caitya made of stone and brick (ghaṭita-pāṣāṇaiṣṭikā) was dedicated at Kṛṣṇagirimahāvihāra by a monk named Buddharuchi who hailed from Sindhudeśa, where construction of brick stupas was a common feature. The entire construction was called chaitya, the worshipful. The brick stupa, is designated as chaitya. The brick construction erected in the memory of learned – monks are called stupas, in these new inscriptions. It is interesting to note in this connection that Rao[7] unearthed three furnaces in the excavation at Kanheri. This probably indicates that the bricks required for the stupas were manufactured at Kanheri itself. All the inscriptions record the names of Sthaviravādi[8] monks, members of the oldest sect. At Sanchi, there lived Sthaviravādi teachers who were sutātikas, vinayakas and pachanekāyikas. There, some stupas might have been erected in the memory of teachers but no separate memorial stupa-gallery survive at Sanchi or elsewhere.

Earlier, memorial stupas in stone had been erected at Bhaja and even at Kanheri. During the fifth century, bricks as well as stone were used for the construction of votive stupas in rock cut sanctuaries. But the gallery of memorial brick stupas is unique to Kanheri.

The language of all the inscriptions is Prakrit. By the end of the fifth century, Sanskrit has taken the place of Prakrit, but why Prakrit was retained in these inscriptions is difficult to ascertain. There is a close similarity between the characters of the epitaphs and inscriptions at Ajanta and Ghatotkacha.

The epitaphs record the names of teachers of high religious achievements. They not only throw light on ancient Buddhist monastic institutions, but also they offer evidence for the first time of teachers' tradition in the western Indian caves. This tradition continued even in the early Rāṣṭraküṭa period. The Kanheri inscription of Pullaśakti, who was the feudatory of Amoghavarśa I, records a donation to the Buddhist vihāra at Kanheri, a part of which was utilised for purchasing books.

The occurrence of the names of Buddhist teachers in this period suggests that the Sthaviravādi monks at Kanheri were greatly honoured. The stupa-gallery honoring them was probably erected by artisans who have migrated from the Vākāṭaka region.

The three chambers in the back wall of the gallery symbolically represent triratnas, namely Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. It may be noted that in the third chamber, a statement preserved in the *'Simhanādasutta'* has been artistically represented. The Buddha seated on a lion's throne recalls the passage in the *'Sihanādasutta'* stating that in the Saṅgha, the Buddha used to speak in lion's voice :–

Parisāsu Simhanādam nadati – *Majhimanikāya* 1.12

Spink has suggested that architectural activity was resumed vigorously at Kanheri during the Traikuṭaka regime. After the fall of the Vākāṭakas, the Traikuṭakas became sovereign rulers. The Surat plates[9] of 490 A.D. mention the king Vyāghrasena as the lord of Aparānta.

On the basis of two important Matvan[10] plates of the Traikuṭaka kings Madhyamasena dated K 256 and Vikramasena[11] dated K 284, it appears that there was a revival of the Traikuṭaka power by about 505 A.D. to 533 A.D. The absence of the name of any Traikuṭaka king in the Kanheri plate dated 494-95 A.D. suggests political disturbance. In this interrequnum period of elevan years the victorious Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa might have occupied the Aparānta region.

The Traikuṭakas again resumed their sovereign power for some time and afterwards became feudatories of the Kalachuris. The Kanheri epitaphs display the peculiarities of the pen-style of the Vākāṭakas. This sequence leads to the conclusion that the brick stupa activity at Kanheri started in the Traikuṭaka period continued with the same vigour during the Vākāṭaka period and was at its zenith in the Kalachuri period.

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Cave No. 87

○ Epitaph No. 1 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 40)

It measures 25 cm × 19 cm.
Letters 4.5 cm × 2.5 cm.

Characters : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : The medial 'a' is shown by an elaborate stroke in the word *'Tevijāṇaṁ'* and by ornamental stroke in the word *'Vijayasenāṇaṁ*. The letters *'ta'* and *'na'* are shown without any distinction.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ Āyya Vijaya
L2. seṇāṇaṁ Tevijāṇaṁ
L3. arahantāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The stupa is erected in the honour of sthavira Ārya Vijayasena. In the Buddhist tradition a monk who has attained three-fold knowledge is called *'Tevijja'* (Trivid). According to *DighaNikāya'* the three types of knowledge are 1. *Pubbenivāsa* : knowledge of three previous existences.
2. *Dibbachakkhu* – Divine vision.
3. *Āsavakhayañaṇa*– destruction of depravities.

The monk Vijayasena at Kanheri achieved the above-mentioned three types of knowledge.

[1] Bhikshu J. Kaśyapa, 1958, *Digha Nikaya* III (Pali) Nalanda, pp.68-71.

○ Epitaph No. 2 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 41)

It measures 25 cm × 16.5 cm.
Letters 3 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : Medial 'i' is shown by a small ring, and medial long 'ū' is shown by ornamental stroke.

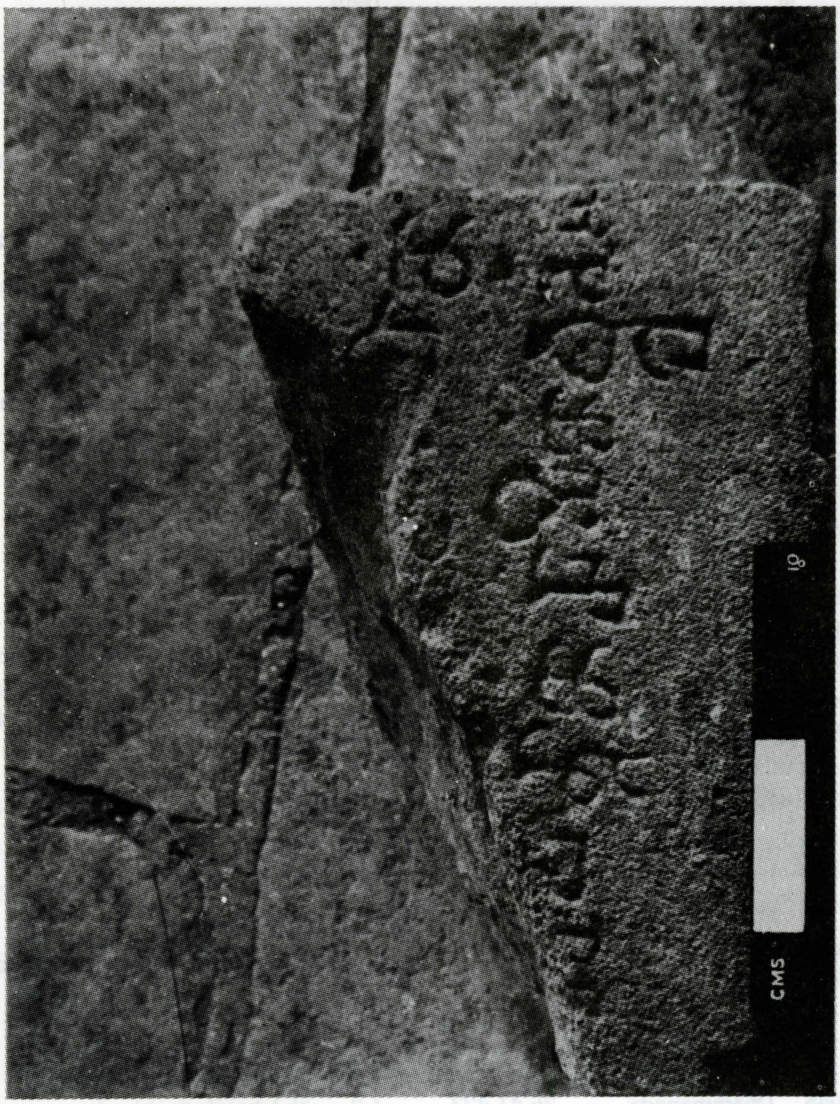
Text

L1. (The) rāṇaṁ ----
L2. (ara) hantāṇaṁ jhāyiṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The inscription records that the arahat was (jhāyi) i.e. dhyānī. This is a technical term for a special religious experience in an order of mental state. It may be described as *pañcāgikadhyāna*
1. Vitarka, 2. Vichāra, 3. Priti, 4. Sukha, 5. Ekāgratā

It may be summarized as mystic, uplifted above attention and reasoning, joy and ease both in body and mind, suffused with a sense of ease after bliss has passed and aware of pure lucidity of mind and equanimity of heart. This arhat at Kanheri had these special qualities.

Epitaph 1 Figure No. 40 Cave No. 87



Epitaph 2 Figure No. 41 Cave No. 87

○ Epitaph No. 3 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 42)

It measures 25 cm × 15 cm.
Letters 3.5 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī, 550 Century A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : medial 'i' is shown by a small ring. 'la' is shown in an ornamental style.

Text

L1. Therāṇam Āyya Mahāṇaṁ ara
L2. hantāṇaṁ chhalabhiñaṇaṁ paṭi
L3. saṁbhidapāttāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The inscription records that sthavira *'Mahān'* was saḍabhināni and who has attained Paṭisaṁbhidās. ṣaḍabhijñana indicates six mental states.

1. *idhi* – levitation.
2. *dibbasotam* – heavenly ear.
3. *paracittavijānanā* – telepathy.
4. *pubbenivāsa* – knowledge of three previous existences.
5. *dibbacakkhu* – divine vision.
6. *āsavakhayañaṇa* – destruction of depravities.

This monk had attained *paṭisaṁbhidā*. There are four kinds of *Paṭisaṁbhidā*. (1) *atthapaṭi-saṁbhidā* – means analysis of the text. (2) *dhammapaṭisaṁbhidā* means reasoning of the text. (3) *nirutipaṭisaṁbhidā* means interpretation of religious text. (4) *paṭibhāṇa paṭisaṁbhidā* means illumination.

These are the four powers of penetration into the hearts of people and could be achieved only by 'Arhats'. The inscription records that the bhikshu was gifted by two extra powers e.g. *ṣaḍabhijñana'* and *Paṭisaṁbhidā'*.

The *Dhammapada*[1] describes the achievements of final emancipation by Six knowledges and also notes that it provides *'Jātikhaya'* (freedom from rebirth).

Pubhenivāsaṁ yo vedi Saggāpayaṁ ca Passati
Atho Jātikhayaṁ pātto abhiña vosito muni.

– Dhammapada – 26. 41. 423.

[1] Dhammajoti U. 1948 Dhammapada – 26.41.423 (Allahabad), P.262.

○ Epitaph No. 4 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 43)

It measures 30 cm × 13.5 cm. Letters 5.5 cm × 3.2 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, nail-headed variety of 5th century A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : Medial *'a'* and *'i'* are shown in ornamental fashion. *'i'* is shown by a small ring.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ bhadanta Dāmā
L2. ṇaṁ aṇāgāmiṇaṁ thubhaṁ

For the attainment of Arhathood, a bhikhu has to pass through four stages.

Sotapanna : A bhikkhu who is following the eight fold path.

Sakadāgāmī : A bhikkhu who takes only one birth.

Aṇāgāmī : A bhikkhu who is free from rebirth as a human being.

Arhat : This is the fourth stage of a monk.

○ Epitaph No. 5 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 44)

It measures 22 cm × 14 cm. Letters 5 cm × 2.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 century A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Both, the anusvāra and a class nasal have been used.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ Āyya I –
L2. ndasena-payutāṇaṁ pa
L3. bhiṇāṇaṁ arahantāṇaṁ
L4. satāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The inscription records that the monk was appointed by Indrasena, and the word *Pabhiṇṇa* indicates that the monk belonged to a different school or subsect.

○ Epitaph No. 6 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 45)

It measures 29 cm × 14 cms. Letters 3 cm × 2 cms.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 century A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are extremely shallow.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ Āyya Vahiṇṇā
L2. grāṇaṁ arahantāṇaṁ Tila
L3. pālakāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The inscription records that a stupa is erected in the name of Tilapālaka, who belonged to a different school.

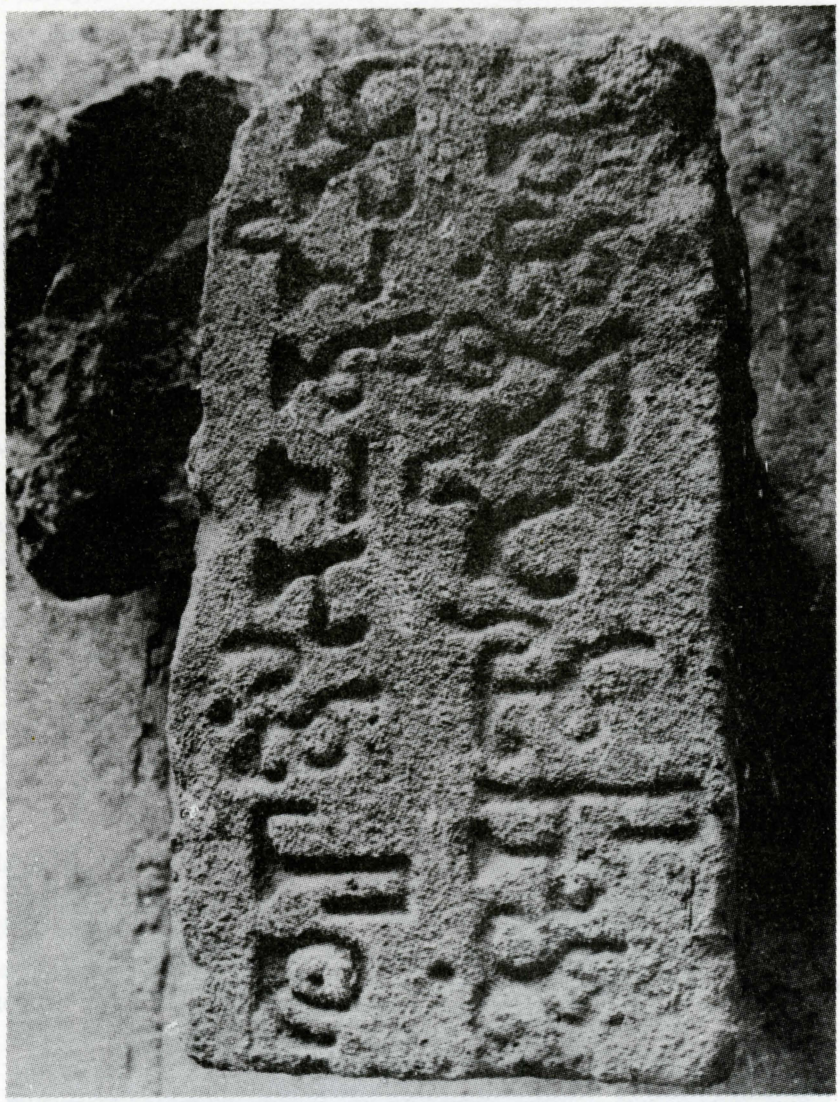
○ Epitaph No. 7 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 46)

It measures 33 cm × 18 cm. Letters 2 cm × 1 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Epitaph 3 Figure No. 42 Cave No. 87



Epitaph 4 Figure No. 43 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 5 Figure No. 44 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 6 Figure No. 45 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 7 Figure No. 46 Cave No. 87

Orthography : La is written in ornamental style.

Text

L1. - - - - - dhi
L2. Lānaṁ arhantāṇaṁ
L3. - - - - thubhaṁ

Although the inscription is partly mutilated, it notably describes the monk as dhi (ti) mula. *Aṭṭhasālini*[1] the commentary on *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*[2] has described various qualities of a bhikkhu.

Cittacetasikānaṁ dhāraṇavasena
Avicchedato vā pavatanavasena
Kusalasantānaṁ dhāretitī dhiti
dhiti cesā aviṭṭhitakāritā

Atthasalini 3.285

A bhikkhu who does not deter from work, who does not avoid work, who has full control over his feelings and who possesses a firm character is called a *'Dhitimūla'.*

1. Vadekar, R.D. and Bapat, P.V., 1942 *Atthasālini* (Poona), 3.285
2. Vadekar, R.D. and Bapat, P.V., (eds.) 1940 *Dhammasangani*, (Poona) p.23.

○ Epitaph No. 8 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 47)

It measures 23 cm × 14 cm. Letters 3 cm × 1.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Medial 'a' is shown with elongated curve.

Text

L1. Theraṇam - - - ṇāye (ṇam)
L2. arahantaṇaṁ

The stupa is erected in honour of ṇāyi - - -

In this inscription, the *arhant* is described as *ṇāyi.* According to *patisambhidamaggapali,*[1] there are seventy-three kinds of knowledge. An ordinary *śrāvaka* could achieve sixty-seven categories of knowledge. The remaining six categories could be achieved only by extraordinary *'śrāvakas.*

To a *sarvajña,* all knowledge is transparent. In Therāvada, knowledge is considered as the supreme quality in man. Knowledge as understood in Buddhism is different from the principle of *ātman* as *brahman* in the Upaniṣads. The mysticism of the Upanisaḍs is absent in Buddhism, but appropriate training of body and mind for achieving truth and excellence as propounded by the Upaniṣads were accepted by Buddhism. This is once again proved by the inscriptions at Kanheri.

1. Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyapa, 1960 – *Paṭisaṁbhidā maggapali* an encyclopaedia of the Philosophy of the Khuddakanikāya of Suttapiṭaka (Varanasi)

○ Epitaph No. 9 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 48)

It measures 25.5 cm × 12.5 cm. Letters 3.5 cm × 3 cm.

Characters : box-headed variety of Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Medial 'i' is shown by a small ring. medial 'u' is shown elaborately, 'na' is shown with a loop.

Text

L1. (Therāṇam) Āyya Saṇghanandā
L2. ṇaṁ arahantāṇam vasiṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The stupa is erected in the honour of Vasi, sthavira Ārya Saṅghananda.

The inscription records that Ārya Saṅghananda was a *'Vasin'.* The *Vishuddhimagga*[1] defines *'Vasi'* as a person who has control over feelings.

This control is five-fold : Āvajjanā vasī (contemplation of samādhī), adhiṭṭhāna vasi (determination for samādhī). Uṭṭhanavasi (emerging out of samādhī) and paccavekhaṇāvasi (contemplation after samādhī).

1. T.Q. Rhys David – 1925 *The Pali Text Society's Pali English Dictionary* (Chipstead, Surrey).

○ Epitaph No. 10 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 49)

It measures 20 cm × 14 cm. Letters 4 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Letter 'na' is shown with a loop.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ āyya khema
L2. kāṇaṁ arahantāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The stupa is erected in the honour of sthavira khemaka.

○ Epitaph No. 11 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 50)

It measures 28 cm × 15 cm. Letters 4.5 cm × 2.5 cm.

Characters : box-headed variety of Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Medial 'i' is shown by a small ring. Both *parasavarṇa* and *anusvāra* have been used. parasavarṇa in the word *'Bhadanta'* and anusvāra in the word *'Vijayamittāṇaṁ.'*

Epitaph 8 Figure No. 47 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 9 Figure No. 48 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 10 (eyecopy) Figure No. 49 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 11 Figure No. 50 Cave No. 87

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ bhadanta Vija
L2. yamittāṇaṁ araha
L3. ntāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The stupa was erected in the honour of bhadanta Vijayamitta. The honorific Ārya is not used for vijayamitra.

○ **Epitaph No. 12 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 51)**

It measures 20 cm × 14 cm. Letters 5 cm × 2.5 cm.

Characters : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Ṃedial 'u' is elaborately shown in the word 'thubha'. 'na' is shown with a loop.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ Āyya
L2. Khemakāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

The stupa is erected in the honour of sthavira Ārya Khemaka.

○ **Epitaph No. 13 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 52)**

It measures 20 cm × 9 cm. Letters 2 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are extremely shallow.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ Āyya.
L2. Arahantāṇaṁ (thubha)

The inscription is in mutilated condition.

○ **Epitaph No. 14 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 53)**

It measures 13 cm × 15 cm. Letters 3 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters extremely damaged.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ a(yya)
L2. ṇam Arahan ---
L3. ṇaṁ thu (bha)

The name of the monk in whose honour the stupa was erected is effaced and cannot be guessed at all.

○ **Epitaph No. 15 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 54)**

It measures 21cm × 14 cm. Letters 3.5 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are shallow and damaged.

Text

L1.(The) rāṇaṁ Āyya
L2. arahantāṇaṁ
L3. satāṇaṁ

The stupa is erected in the honour of sthavira Arhat Sata.

○ **Epitaph No. 16 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 55)**

It measures 28 cm × 12.5 cm. Letters 3 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The inscription is completely damaged.

Text

L1. Therāṇam - - -
L2. arahatāṇam thubham

The stupa is erected in honour of Sthavira arahat - - - -

○ **Epitaph No. 17 : Cave No. 87**

It measures 20 cm × 14 cm. Letters 5 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letter 'ra' is shown by a straight line.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ āyya
L2. - - - - -
L3. - - - - -

○ **Epitaph No. 18 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 56)**

It measures 22 cm × 14 cm. Letters 3 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Box headed variety of Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : 'La' is with its base angular and its upper curve extended.

Text

L 1 Therāṇaṁ Āyya put(ā)
L 2 ṇaṁ Ārahantāṇaṁ chhala
L3. (bhi) ñaṇaṁ Thubaṁ

The inscription records that the stupa was erected in

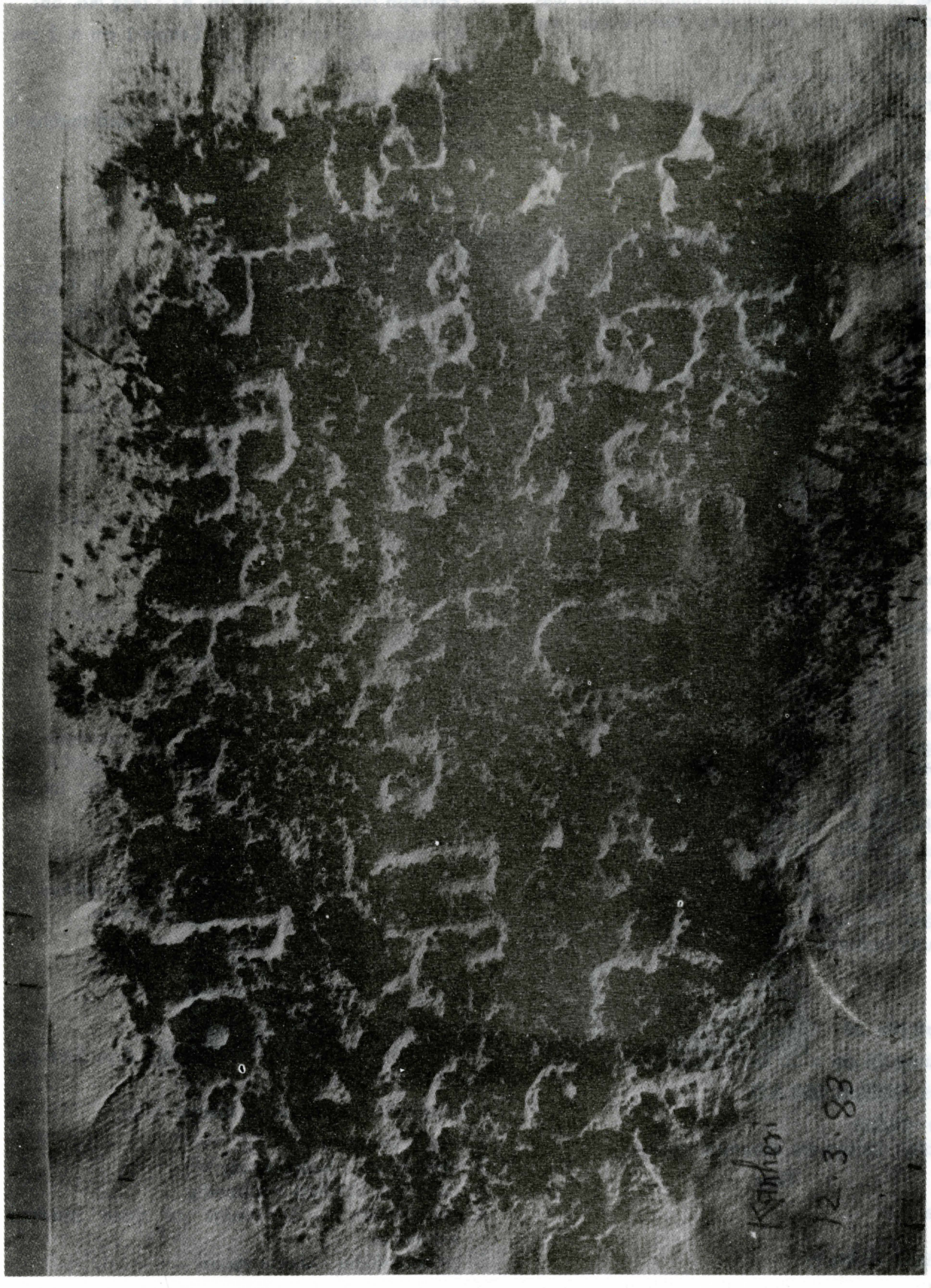
Epitaph 12 Figure No. 51 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 13 (eye copy) Figure No. 52 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 14 (eye copy) Figure No. 53 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 15 (eye copy) Figure No. 54 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 16 (eye copy) Figure No. 55 Cave No. 87



Epitaph 18 Figure No. 56 Cave No. 87

the honour of Sthavira Arahanta Āryaputra who was shaḍabhijnāni. In this inscription, two words are important, viz.

Aryaputra and Shaḍabhijñani,

Āryaputra is generally the honorific of a royal member. *Shaḍabhijnāni* – Āryaputra had attained six mental states.

1. idhi – levitation
2. dibbasotam – heavenly ear
3. paracittavijānanā – telepathy
4. pubbenivāsa – knowledge of three previous existences.
5. dibbacakkhu – divine vision
6. āsavakhayajñaṇa – destruction of depravities

It is rather difficult to imagine the name of the royal family to which Āryaputra belonged.

○ Epitaph No. 19 : Cave No. 87 : (Fig No. 57)

It measures 22 cm × 21 cm. Letters 3 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : box-headed variety of Brahmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Medial *'a'* is shown by elongated stroke. Long *'i'* is shown by a ring with a stroke. Both anusvāra and parasavarṇa are used.

Text

L 1 Therāṇam Āyya sā
L 2 miṇaṁ Andhakavīrā

The stupa was erected in the honour of Ārya Svāmi Andhakavīra.

Unfortunately, the epitaph does not mention the name of the sthavira. Whether the stupa was erected in the honour of 'Svāmi' 'Aṅdhakavīra' is doubtful as the inscription does not contain the word stupa but the words svāmī and 'Andhakavīra' are significant. The word 'Svāmi' indicates his royal status and the word 'Andhakavira' indicates his origin from Āndhra.

○ Epitaph No. 20 : Cave No. 87

It measures 26 cm × 20 cm. Letters 4 cm × 2 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Letters are extremely shallow.

Text

L1. Thera
L2. - - -
L3. hantāṇaṁ thubhaṁ

○ Epitaph No. 21 : Cave No. 87 : (Fig No. 58)

It measures 27 cm × 15 cm. Letters 1 cm × 1 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit
Orthography : Long medial 'u' in the word thubha is shown in ornamental style.

Text

L 1 Therāṇaṁ bha (danta) - - -
L 2 Jāyiṇaṁ Tinha (a) raha (nta)
L 3 ṇam Satāṇaṁ Thubhaṁ

The stupa is erected in the name of Sthavira Bhadanta honourable – Jāyin. Another honorific of the Bhadanta is satānaṁ which is noteworthy. The epitaph No. 11 records this honorific.

○ Epitaph No. 22 : Cave No. 87 : (Fig No. 59)

It measures 25 cm × 10 cm. Letters 4 cm × 3 cm.

Characters : Brāhmi, 550 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letter 'tha' is written in angular style.

Text

L 2 Therāṇaṁ a

It is the interesting evidence of an epitaph of the cemetary which was kept ready in anticipation.

○ Epitaph No. 23

The present inscription is the epitaph discovered by West in 1853. It is now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It measures 23 cm. × 18 cm. Letters 5 × 3 cms.

Characters : Brāhmī, 500 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are written in the nail-headed variety of Brāhmī, 'na' is written with a loop.

Text

L 1 Therāṇaṁ āyya Sivanā
L 2 gāṇaṁ arahantāṇaṁ
L 3 (chha) labhiñaṇaṁ (thubhaṁ)

The inscription records that sthavira Ārya Śivanāga was Ṣaḍabhiñani.

Ṣaḍabhiñana indicates six mental states.

1. idhi – levitation
2. dibbasotam – heavenly ear.
3. parachitta Vijananā – telepathy.
4. pubbenivāsa – knowledge of three previous existences.
5. dibbachakkhu – divine vision.

Epitaph 19 Figure No. 57 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 21 Figure No. 58 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 22 Figure No. 59 Cave No. 87

6. āsavakhayajñana – destruction of deprevities.

West has given the eye copy of this inscription. Sivanaga was a great teacher with six knowledges. There is one more inscription from the cemetary, which records 'ṣaḍabhiñani' but that inscription has not recorded the name of the monk.

1. The reading is from the inscription in the Prince of Wales Museum (The Photograph is not listed).

○ Epitaph No. 24 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 60)

It measures 23.5 cm × 6.9 cm.

Characters : Box headed Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : There are solid boxes on the letters, medial long 'u' is conspicuously shown.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ Ārya Dhammase
L2. ṇāṇaṁ arahantaṇaṁ ga
L3. ṇāchariyāṇaṁ thūbhaṁ

The stupa is erected in the honour of Sthavira Ārya, Arhat, Gaṇāchārya Dhamma seva.

○ Epitaph No. 25 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 61)

It measures 14 cm × 29 cm.

Characters : Box headed Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : There are solid boxes on the letters, medial long 'u' is conspicuously shown.

Text

L1. Pacheṇha arahant(ā)
L2. gratāṇaṁ ayaṁ thübho.

The stupa was erected in the honour of 'Ārya' was the best 'arhat' every day.

○ Epitaph No. 26 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 62)

It measures 12 cm × 18 cm.

Characters : Box headed variety of Brāhmī, 550 A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : "Anusvāra is prominent in the word 'Arahanta' L.2.

L1 (Theraṅaṁ) Ārya La

Text

L2 Vi – ṇaṁ arahaṁ
L3 ----- thu (bho).

The epitaph is in mutilated conditon.

○ Epitaph No. 27 : Cave No. 87 (Fig. No. 63)

It measures 15 cm × 18 cm.

Characters : Box headed variety of Brāhmī, 500 A.D.

Language : Prakrit

Orthography : medrol 'i' is elaboralely shown in Line 1.

Text

L1. Therāṇaṁ ārya Bādi
L2. Lāṇaṁ arahantaṇaṁ ---
L3. ---- thubhaṁ

The stupa was erected in the name of arhat, Badilāṇa ----

Thanks are due to the American Institute of Indian Studies Varanasi for providing phtographs of the last four epitaphs for study.

★ Inscription No. 51 : Cave No. 88 : (Fig No. 64)

The inscription is on the lefthand side-wall, outside the verandah of Cave No. 88. The upper portion of the inscription is defaced. It measures 1.8 m × 95 cm. Letters 6 cm × 5 cm.

Characters : 2nd Century A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deeply cut. The medial i is written stylistically (L.3 Poḍhi). there is no distinction between 'ta' and 'na'. The letters are similar to those of the inscription of Nahapāna.

Text

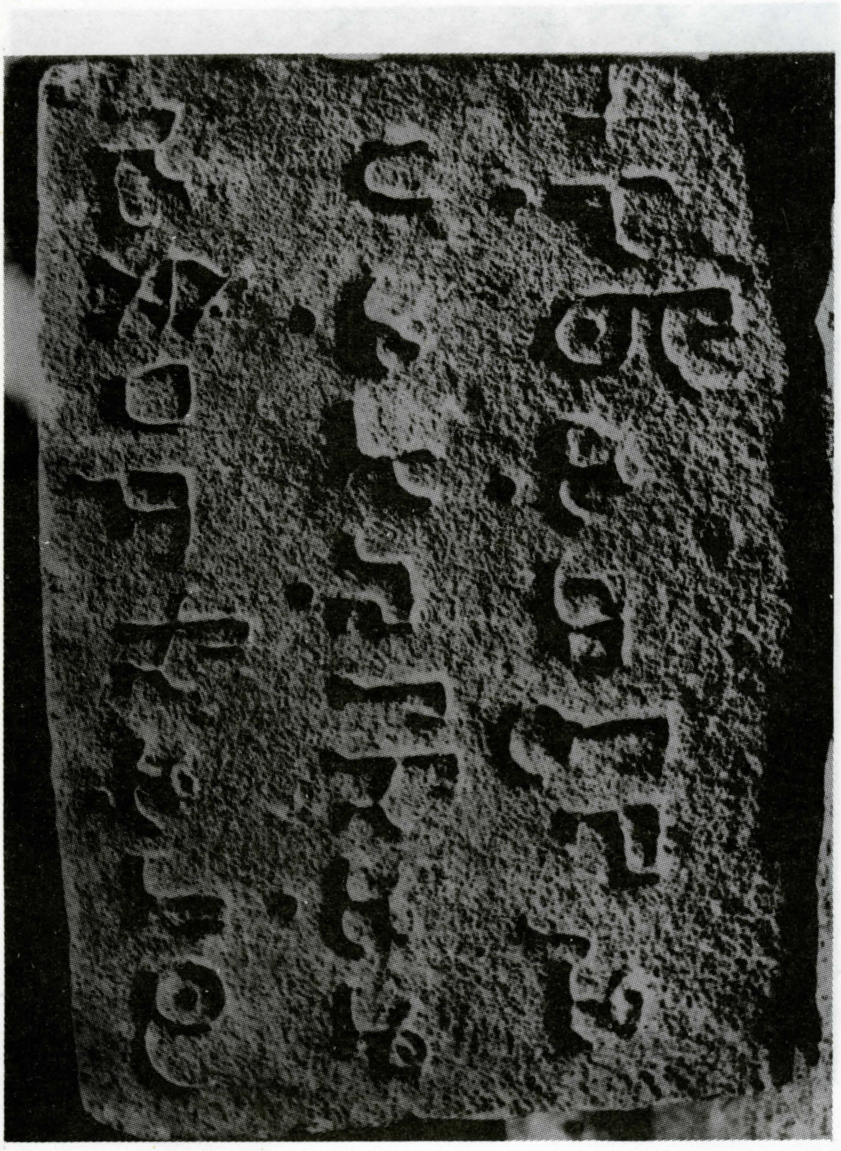
L 1 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Pāla (ṇam) (antevā) sisa
L 2 - - - - - ṇayasa - - - (M)itanakasa pavajitasa
L 3 - - - - - leṇa - - - pāniya poḍhi cha
L 4 (de) yadhama (chā)tudise bhikhusaghe pati - -
L 5 ṭhapitaṁ mātāpitaro udisa savasatāṇa
L 6 hitasukhatha apaṇo cha nivāṇāsa bhara
L 7 tha etasa cha akhayanivi dinā

Translation

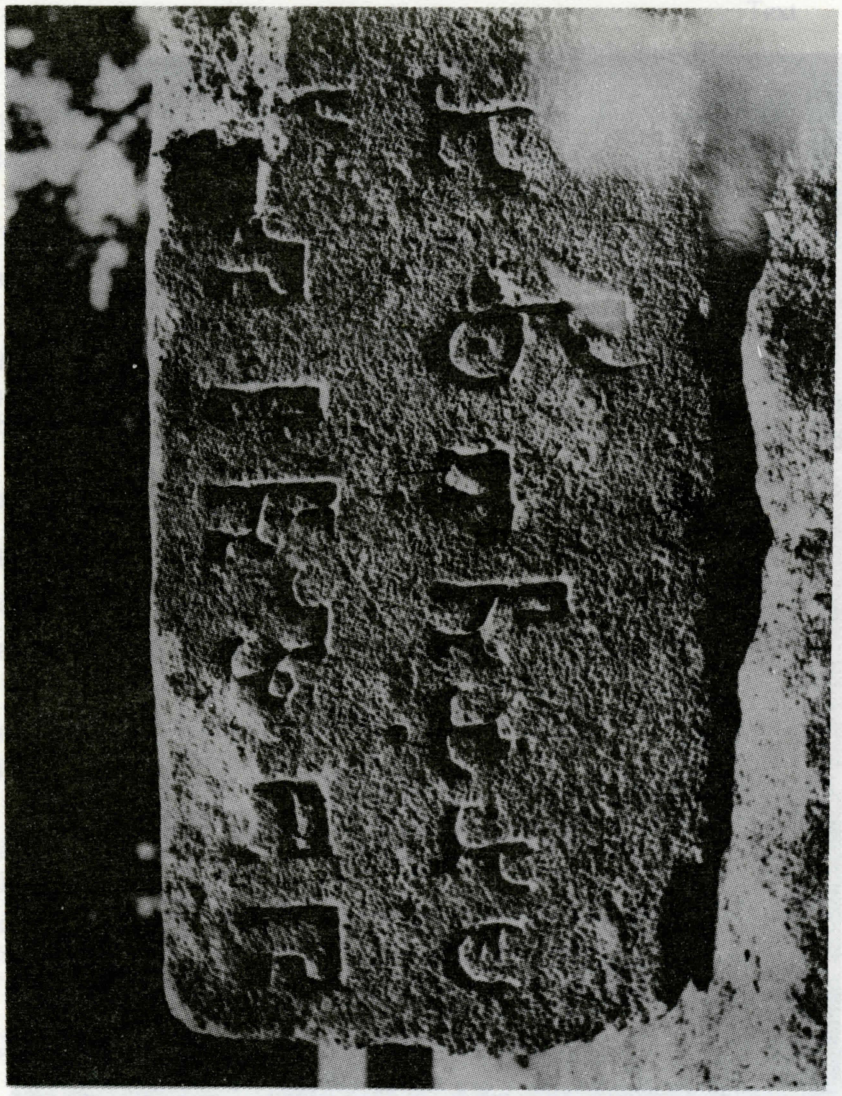
By the pupil of - - - - Pāla, the ascetic - - - Mitaṇaka, a cave and a water cistern have been excavated for the community of ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon, for the benefit of (his parents) for the welfare of all living beings, and for the fulfilment of the hope of final liberation for himself, and a perpetual endowment has been given by him.

The inscription has recorded the word *'Nirvaṇāshā'*. It is the unique epigraphical evidence of the word *'Niravāṇāshā'*.

This is the only inscription which records the wish of the donor for final liberation.



Epitaph 23 Figure No. 60 Cave No. 87



Epitaph 24 Figure No. 61 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 25 Figure No. 62 Cave No. 87

Epitaph 26 Figure No. 63 Cave No. 87

Inscription No. 51 Figure No. 64 Cave No. 88

○ Inscription 52 in Cave No. 90

There is a small inscription of two lines near the Pahlavi inscription near the cistern in Cave No. 90. It is on the right-hand side pilaster. It is not noted by west. The letters are very shallow therefore they could not be photographed. The inscription measures 15 cm. × 8 cm. Letters 2.5 × 3.5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmi, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters fully agree with the period.

Text

L 1 dānena
L 2 pujito

honoured by gifts.

The three Pahlavi inscriptions in cave No. 90 have been read by West and were incorporated in *Inscriptions from the Cave temples of Western India with descriptive notes. (Burgess & Pandit* – Bhagawanlal Indraji) Reprint – 1976 (Delhi, pp. 62-66). They are reproduced here.

PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS : Cave No. 90

There are three Pahlavi inscriptions of which West has supplied the following account with translations.[1]

These three Pahlavi inscriptions are all dated, and consist chiefly of the names of certain Pârsis who visited the Kanheri Caves early in the eleventh century. They are all three inscribed in vertical lines, to be read from the top downwards; Pahlavi writing being read from right to left. As they would be more conveniently read if the lines were horizontal, the reason for inscribing them in vertical lines is not obvious; but it may be noted that a few short Pahlavi inscriptions, in the same comparatively modern character,[2] are found in Persia, which are also inscribed in vertical lines.

The earliest date is that in the inscription on the verandah pilaster to the right of a person entering the cave. This inscription is so faintly cut that the greater part of it would be illegible if it were not for the fact that the names it contains are the same as those in the second inscription.

With the assistance of that inscription it may be read, line for line, as follows[3] :–

Transliteration.

Pavan shem-î yazatô.
Pavan tag mûrvâk va nadûko dadak denman shnat 300
70 8-î Yazdakardo bidanâ Mitrô yôm
Aûharmazd ham-dînîkân val denman jînâk yâtûnd
hômand Yazdân-pânak va Mâh-aîyyâr-î
Mitra-aîyyâr,[1]Panj-bûkhto va Padar-bûkhto-î
Mâh-aîyyâr, Mardân-shâd-î Hîrâd[2]-Bâhrâm
va Hîrâd-Bâhrâm-î Mardân-shâd Mitra-aiyyâr-î
Bâhrâm-panâh va Bâhrâm-panâh-i Mitra-aîyyâr,
Falân-zâd[3] va Zâd-sparham-î Âtûr[4]-mahân,
Nûk-mâhân va Dîn-Bâhrâm va Bajûrg-âtûr va
Hîrâd-mard va Bêh-zâdo-î Mâh. . . .

This inscription is evidently incomplete, as it stops in the middle of a name and also omits the names contained in the last two lines of the next inscription. Nearly the whole of the first two lines have been broken away and removed since 1870, and the copy of them could not, therefore, be corrected in 1875; so that the reading of so much of the second line as does not occur in the next inscription, is doubtful.

In the following translations of these three inscriptions, as transcribed, the words in italics are understood, but not expressed, in the original Pahlavi :–

Translation.

"In the name of God.[5]

"Through strong omens and the good Judge this[6] year 378 of Yazdakard, on the day Aûharmazd of the month Mitrô (10th October 1009), *there* have come to this place the co-religionists[7] Yazdân-pânak and Mâh-aîyyâr *sons* of Mitra-aîyyar, & c. (as in No.2, as far as) Bêh-zâd *son* of Mâh[8] . . . . . "

The next date, which is only forty-five days later, occurs in the inscription in the recess over the water-tank alongside the cave. This inscription, though likewise cut faintly, is much more distinct than the last, and is numbered with the Pahlavi cipher for "two" preceding the invocation in its first line. It contains the same names as the last inscription, with a few others added at the end to complete the list, and may be read as follows :–

1. These inscriptions have been translated by Dr. E.W. West, for the *Indian Antiquary*, where they will also appear with his remarks in full. Mr. K.M. Kama also kindly supplied with versions of the three longer inscriptions prepared by Pârsi scholars.
2. Not the Sasanian inscriptions, which are always in horizontal lines.
3. As some sounds are written more ways than one in Pahlavi, italics are used to express such variants; thus, d is used for d written like t, j for j written like y, l and r for l and r written either like n or like an Avesta o, v and z for v and z written like ch.

1. *Aîyyâr* is merely a provisional reading for the Pahlavi equivalent of Pers. *yâr*, until its true sound is ascertained. In the second inscription, it is always circumflexed, as if to be read *aîdbâr*.
2. Or, perhaps, *Khîrâd* or *Aîr-aê*, as the final d (not being *d*) is doubtful after a vowel.

3. In the second inscription the l is distinctly noted by a diacritical mark, otherwise it would be better to read *Farukho-zâd*, a common Pahlavi name.
4. Hitherto I have generally read this word *âtarô* direct from the Avesta, but it occurs in Sasanian inscriptions, not only in a form which can be read either *âtarô* or *âtûr*, but also in another form which *must* be read *átûr*, it is also transcribed by Syriac writers as *âdûr* or *âdur*. The second part of the name is here written *mahân*, but is *mâhân* in the next inscription and in the next name here.
5. The Pahlavi word is here in the singular number.
6. As already stated, the reading of this first phrase is doubtful. Another guess would make it mean "in a good omened and happy state I write".
7. This word is doubtful, but *hamdînîkân* seems to be the only intelligible reading for it as it stands in No.2.
8. Breaking off in the middle of a name.

Transliteration.

2. Pavan shem-î yazatô.[1]
Shnat 300 va 70 8-î Yazdakard*o* bidanâ Âv*â*no
va yôm Mitrô hamdînîkân va*l* denman *j*înâk
yâtûn*d*
hômand Yazdân-pânak va Mâh-aîyyâr-î
Mitr*a*-aîyyâr, Panj-bûkhto va Pa*d*ar-bûkhto-î
Mâh-aîyyâr, Mar*d*ân-shâ*d*-î Hîrâ*d*-Bâhrâm
va Hîrad Bâhram-î Mar*d*ân-shâ*d*, Mitra-aîyyâr-î,
Bâhram-panâh va Bâhrâm-panâh-î Mitra-aîyyâr,
Falân-zâ*d* va Zâ*d*-sparham-î Atûr-mâhân,
Nûk-mâhân va Dîn-Bâhrâm va Bajûrg-âtûr
va Hîrâ*d*-mar*d* va Bêh-zâ*d*o-î Mâh-bâzâe,[2]
Bâhrâm-panâh-î Mitra-banda*d*.
Mâh Âtûr Aûharmazd-î Âv*â*n-bandâ*d* mûr*d*.[3]

Translation.

"2. In the name of God.

"In the year 378 of Yazdakard, the month Âvân and day Mitrô (24th November 1009), *there* have come to this place the co-religionists Yazdân-pânak and Mâh-aîyyâr, *sons* of Mitra-aîyyâr, Panj-bûkht and Padar-bûkht *sons* of Mâhaîyyâr, Mardân-shâd *son* of Hîrâd-Bâhrâm and Hîrâd-Bâhrâm[4] *son* of Mitra-aîyyâr, Falân-zâd and Zâd-sparham *sons* of Âtur-mâhân, Nûk-mâhân, Dîn-Bâhrâm, Bajûrg-âtûr, Hîrâd-mard, and Bêh-zâd *sons* of Mâh-bâzâe, *and* Bâhrâm-panâh *son* of Mitra-bandâd. In the month Âtûr[5] Aûharmazd *son* of Âvân-bandâd died".

The third inscription in point of time is that on the left-hand pilaster of the verandah, and is numbered with the Pahlavi cipher for "three" preceding the invocation in its first line. It is dated twelve years later than the preceding inscriptions, and contains a different list of names, in which only four of the names in the previous inscriptions occur. It is fairly legible, and may be read as follows :–

1. This word is illegible, but is assumed to be the same as in the preceding inscription. The *za* in *yazatô*, like the *zd* in *yazdân* and *Aûharmazd*, and the *zda* in *yazdakardo* is written like *â* or *ha*, as it always is in Pahlavi MSS.; but this is merely a graphical variant, as these words are written with *za*, *zd*, and *zda* in Sasanian Pahlavi.
2. The last syllable is circumflexed, but can hardly contain the letter d.
3. The last letter is doubtful, and the word looks more like *mûrû*, but this would be unintelligible. This last line is evidently an addition to the inscription after the list of names was finished.
4. Probably a son of the preceding man, who had been named after his grandfather, a custom still common among the Pârsis.
5. That is, in the following month (9th Dec. to 8th Jan.). It might possibly be *"on the day Mâh of the month* Âtûr (20th Dec.)"; or it might be translated "Mâh-Âtûr *and* Aûharmazd *sons* of Avân-bandâd died," but the word "died" is doubtful. This last sentence seems to have been a later addition to the inscription.

Transliteration.

3. Pavan shem-î yazdân.
Bidanâ Mitrô va yôm Dînô shnat 300 90-î
Yazdakard*o* min Aîrân[1]
va*l* denman *j*înâk yâtûnd hômand
Mâh-Frôbag va Mâh-aîyyâr
î Mitr*a*-aîyyâr, Mard*â*n-shâ*d*-î
Mâh-aîyyâr, Mard*â*n-shâd-î
Hîrâd-Bâhrâm, Bêh-zâ*d*-î
Mitra-vindâ*d*,[2] *J*âvîdân-bûd*o*-î
Bâhrâm-Gûshnaspr, Bajûrg-âtûr-î
Mâh-bâzâe, Mâh-aîyyâr va Bandêsh[3]
î Hîrâd-farukhr, va Mâh-bandâ*d*-î
Gêhân-khash châsh[4]-nyôkhsh.

Translation.

3. In the name of God.[5]

"In the month Mitrô and day Dînô *of* the year 390 of Yazdakard (30th October 1021) *there* have come from Irân[6] to this place Mâh-Frôbag and Mâh-aîyyâr[7] *sons* of Mitra-aîyyâr, Panj-bûkht[7] *son* of Mâh-aîyyâr, Mardân-shâd[7] *son* of Hîrâd-Bâhrâm, Bêh-zâd *son* of Mitra-vindâd, Jâvîdân-bûd *son* of Bâhrâm-Gûshnasp, Bajûrg-âtûr[7] *son* of Mâh-bâzâe, Mâh-aîyyâr and Bandêsh *sons* of Hîrâd-farukho, and Mâh-bandâd *son* of Gêhân-khash, the listener to instruction."[8]

It must have been during the visit mentioned in this third inscription that the few words were inscribed on the dâgoba (discovered by Dr. West),[9] for they mention the same year and one of the same names. This short inscription was correctly deciphered in 1866, as published in the *Zartoshti Abhîâs* No.3, p.164, and is as follows :–

Shnat 300
90-î Yazdaka (*rd*)
Shatra-îyâr
Mâh-Frôba(g).

Plate No. 11) Pahlavi inscription (1) Cave No. 90

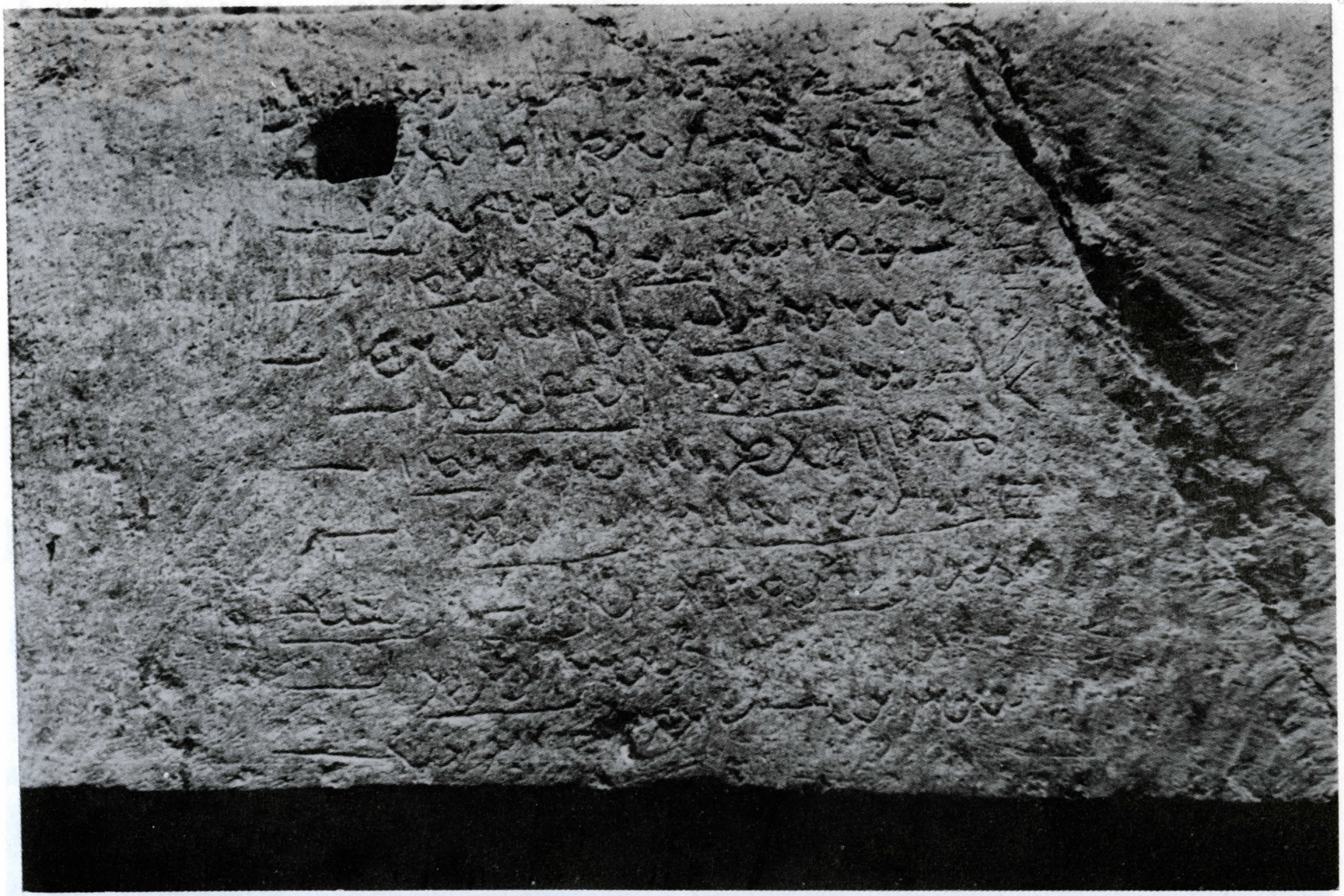


Plate No. 12) Pahlavi inscription (2) Cave No. 90

Plate No. 13) Pahlavi inscription (3) Cave No. 90

"The year 390 of Yazdakard, Shatra-îyâr. Mâh-Frôbag."

Besides these four Pahlavi inscriptions at Kanheri, there has been a fifth, of which only two or three detached letters are legible on another stone of the dâgoba, which is now in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This inscription appears to have consisted of seven vertical lines on a flat space between two groups of sculpture; but the surface of the stone is so much decayed, that the letters legible are only just sufficient to show that the words have been Pahlavi.

1. These last two words are doubtful, *min* being nearly all cut away, and *Aîrân* hardly legible; they occupy the place of the doubtful word *hamdînîkân* in the first two inscriptions.
2. Possibly the same name as the Mitra-bandâd of the first two inscriptions.
3. Or, perhaps, *Bôsîh*.
4. This word is doubtful, being partly broken away.
5. The Pahlavi word is here in the plural number.
6. The words "from Irân" are doubtful, being partly cut away to form a mortice in the rock for attaching wood-work.
7. These four names also occur in the former lists in Nos. 1 and 2.
8. This last phrase is doubtful, and it is possible that the list of names is incomplete in this inscription, as it is in that on the other pilaster.
9. See *Jour. Bom. B.R. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI., p.119, and plate iii, fig. 21.

△ Inscription No. 53 : Cave No. 93 : (Fig No. 65)

The inscription is on the back wall of the recess over a tank on the right-hand side of the entrance of cave No. 93. It is faintly cut and very indistinct. It records the dedication of a water tank. It measures 1.9 M × 45 cm. Letters 5 cm × 3 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are very faint but they show the characteristics of the period.

Text

L 1 Suvaṇakasa sivatana saha bālikā Jamadevikāsa
L 2 Pavaitikā Jamanasa - - - pāniyapoḍhi (deyadhama)
L 3 saha para (ri) ium - - -
L 4 yasama pavanau

The inscription records gift of a cistern by Pavajitā Jamadevikā, daughter of Sivatana.

★ Inscription No. 54 : Cave No. 98 : (Fig No. 66)

The inscription of three lines is on the back wall of the recess over the tank near Cave No. 98.

The inscription is deeply cut, distinct but about five letters in the first line, three in the second, and two in the third peeled off. It measures 87 cm × 28.5 cm. Letters 8 cm. × 6 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deep and the conjunct letter 'nha' is prominently written in the word *kaṇhasele'*. The vowel *'i'* is shown by three strokes. The anusvara is marked in two different ways. In the word *'leṇam'* it is on the side of the letter *'ṇa'*. In the word *'deyadhaṁam'* it is on the top of the letter.

Text

L 1 (Sidhaṁ kali) aṇikāya Bhoïgiyā A –
L 2 (pa) rāṁtikāya Dāmilāya leṇaṁ.
L 3 (po) ḍhi cha Kaṇhasele deyadhaṁam 卐

Success ! A cave and a cistern on the hill of Kṛṣṇa, the meritorious gift of Damilā, Bhojiki of the Konkan (Aparānta), and inhabitant of Kalyan.

The words *'Bhoigiyā' 'Aparāntikāyā'* are important. They signify that the husband of Dāmilā was Bhojaka, the ruler of Konkan. Her name explicitly indicates her southern provenance.

★ Inscription No. 55 : Cave No. 98 : Fig No. 67

The inscription is in cave No. 98. It is of one line on the wall of the verandah of the cave and above a small grated window. It measures 1.70 m. × 6 cm. Letters 9 cm. × 8 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters though not deeply cut are perfect. The small letters 'Poḍhi cha' in the second line as an addition and are inserted after the writing of the first line.

Text

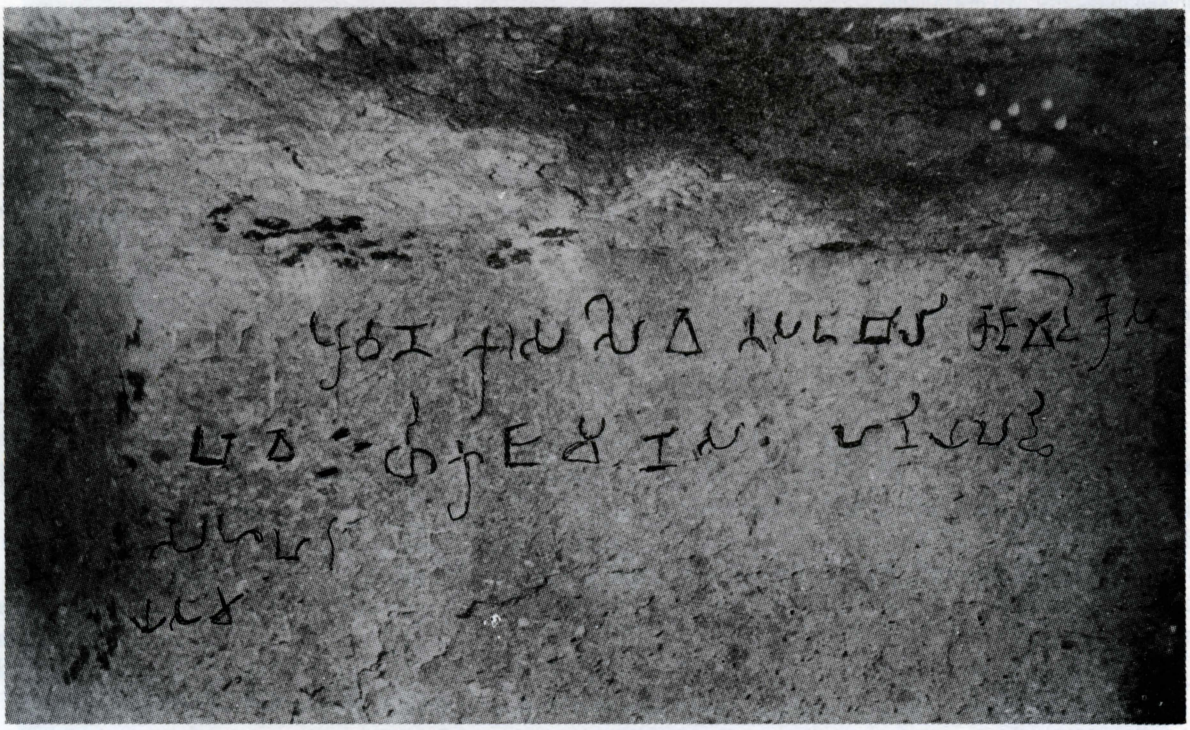
L 1 Sidhaṁ Kāliyiṇikiyā bhikhuṇiya Dāmilāya leṇa deyadhaṁam
L 2 Poḍhi cha

Translation

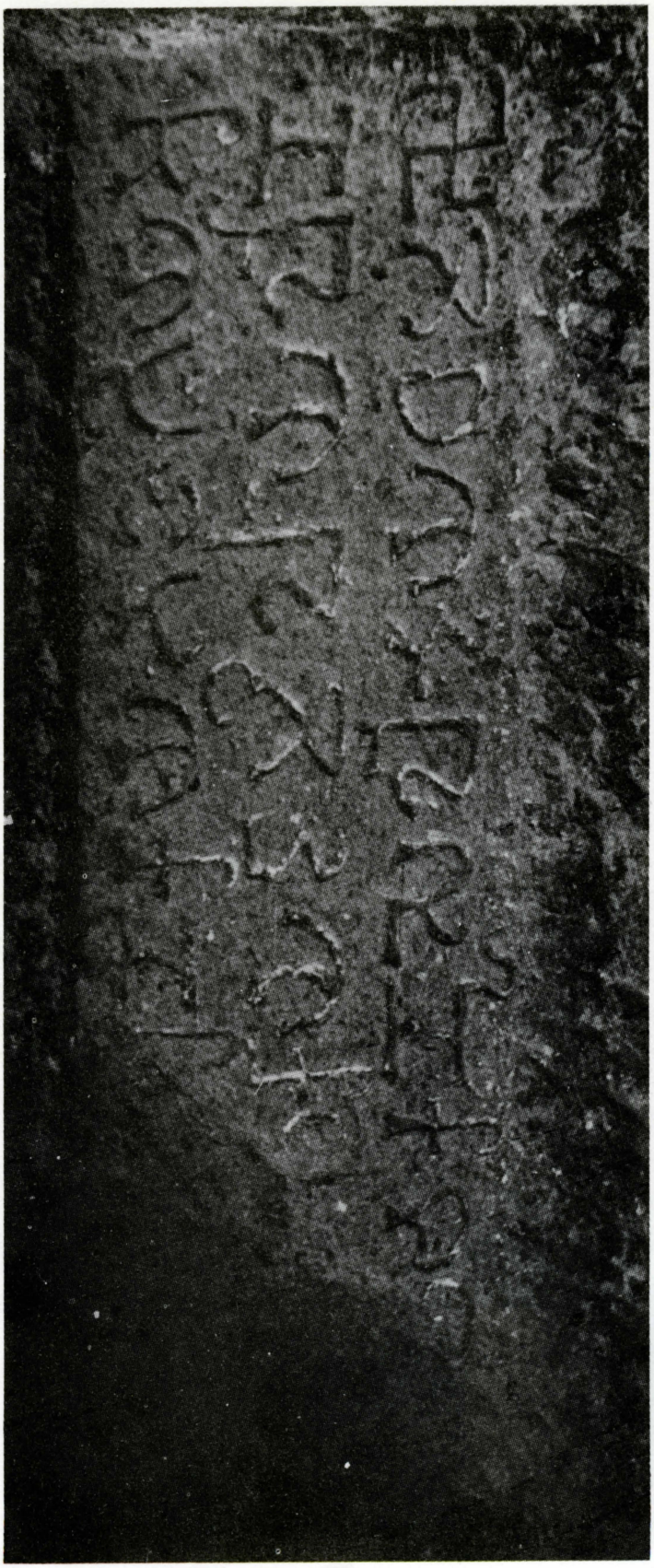
Success ! A cave and a cistern, the meritorious gift of the female ascetic Dāmilā, an inhabitant of Kalyan.

★ Inscription No. 56 : Cave No. 99 : (Fig No. 68)

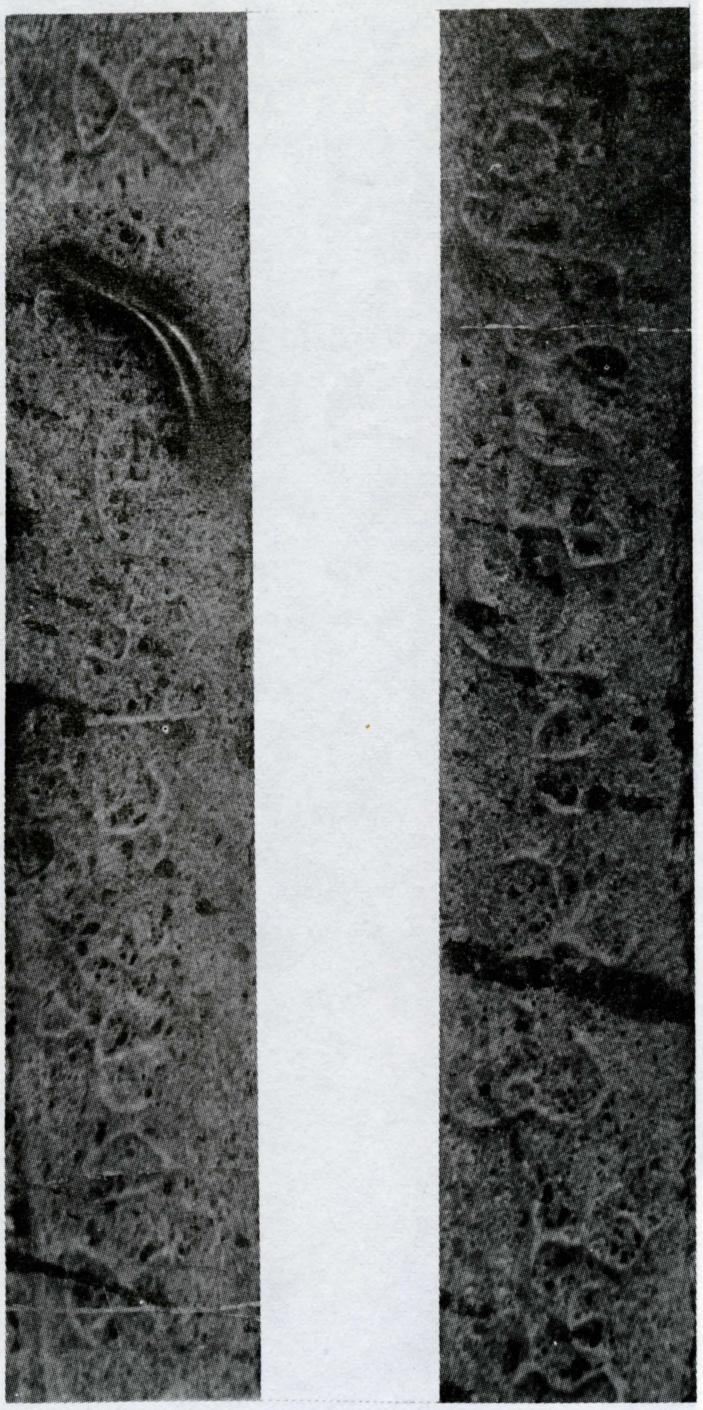
The inscription of two lines is on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. 99 and on the left side of a grated window. It measures 97 cm. × 26 cm. Letters 3 cm. × 8 cm.



Inscription No. 53 (eye copy) Figure No. 65 Cave No. 93



Inscription No. 54 Figure No. 66 Cave No. 98



Inscription No. 55 Figure No. 67 Cave No. 99

Inscription No. 56 Figure No. 68 Cave No. 99.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters are deeply cut, distinct and perfect. At the starting point of the inscription, there are two vertical strokes. The medial 'i' in the word Mitabhuti is written in ornamental style.

Text

L 1 Sidhaṁ therāṇaṁ bhayata-Mitabhūtinaṁ
L 2 leṇaṁ Sāgarapalaganaṁ deyadhaṁmaṁ卐

Translation

Success ! The cave of the thera the reverend Mitabhūti is the meritorious gift of the *'Sāgarapalogana'*.

Sagarapalogana – (Sāgarapralokana). It appears that *'Sāgarapalogana'* was the name of the cave. The cave is rightly named as it commands a fine view of the Bassein creek and the sea beyond. It is interesting to note that in *Dighanikaya*[3] it is mentioned that the Buddha himself taught his disciples to concentrate on the setting sun with a view to increasing the mental power.

1. Reading would be *Sāgarapaloganaṁ'*
2. Swastika is engraved
3. Kasyapa Bhikshu; *Dighanikāya* Vol.III, p.158.

△ Inscription No. 57 : Cave No. 101 : (Fig No. 69)

The inscription is on the left hand side-wall outside the verandah of cave No. 101 over a tank. It is cut to a moderate depth but owing to the honeycombed state of the rock, the letters are not distinct. Some part of the centre of the inscription is peeled off. It measures 1.17 m. × 1.2 m. Letters 9 cm × 5 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The letters have ornamental medials.

Text

L 1 Kalia (ṇaka) - - - Upāsaka Sivadatena pavate
L 2 Kaṇha(se)le (chātudisa) bhikhusaṁghaṁ udisa leṇasa akhaya ni (vi)
L 3 ti - - - - - - ti - - bhāga cha datani
L 4 - - - - - - nahita sukhaya etha cha akha
L 5 ya - - - - bhikhusaṁghāya satāni 100
L 6 rtha - - - - - kaliaṇa yeva
L 7 niya - - - - sikhaya adhapaṇani ka
L 8 nha gi - - - saghāṇaṁ satāni - - -ka
L 9 le a - - - sethi chivarikāni datāni yeva kanha
L 10 giri - - - (kusala) mula chivarikāni
L 11 tini - - - ni kahāpaṇa 100 Abhālikāvihāre

The inscription records the gift by Upāsaka Sivadata from Kalyan. It refers Kaṇhagiri twice and the word Kaṇhasela occurs once. In line 10, there is a reference to the donation of chivarikas. It was considered as a source of collecting merit (kuśalamula). Line 11 records the donation of 300 Kārshāpaṇas to the Ambālikā monastery at Kalyan.

○ Inscription No. 58 (Fig. No. 70)

Inscription on the top of the Krisnagiri hill

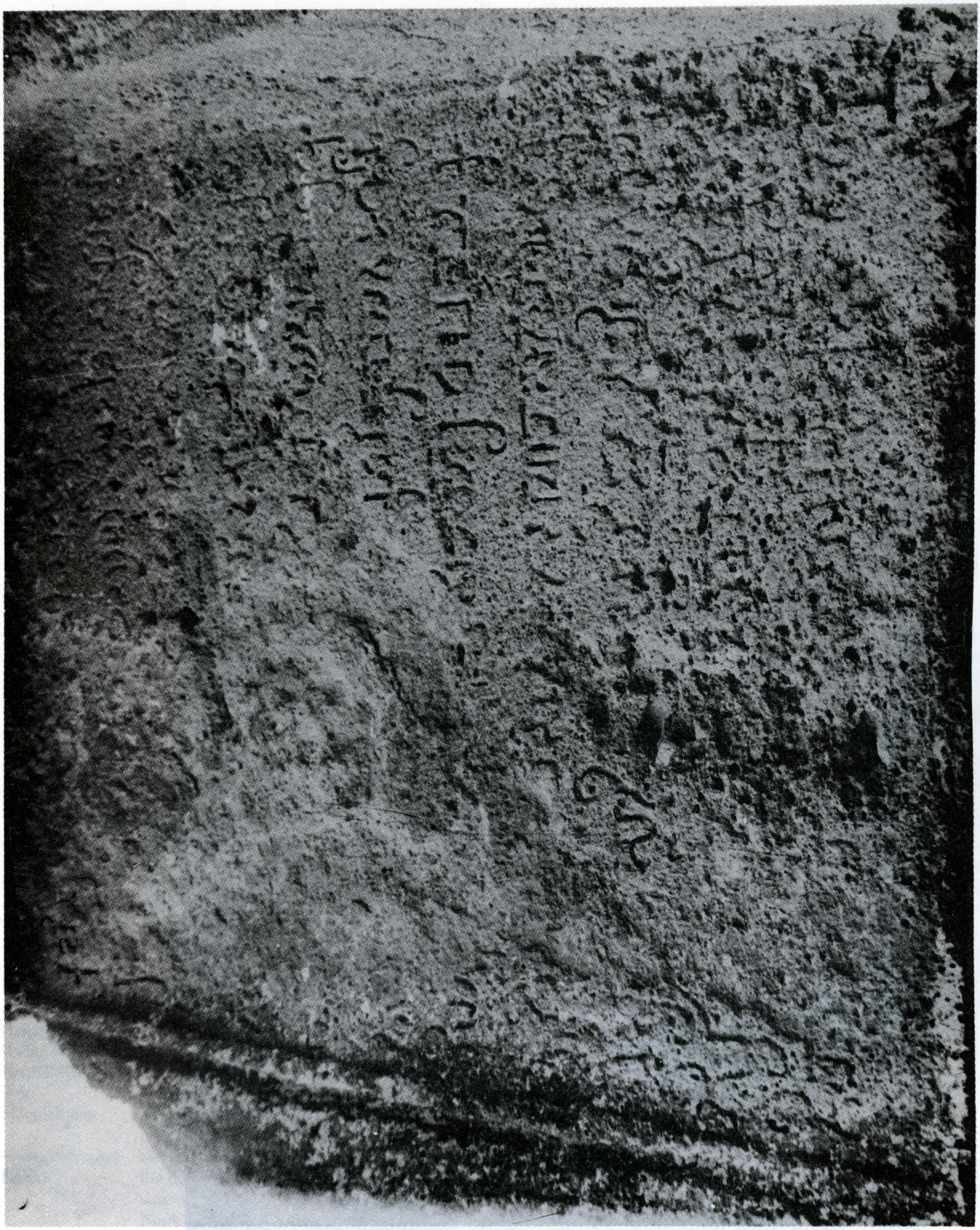
The inscription is not noted by West or Lüders. It is on a step on the top of the Kṛṣṇagiri hill, completely corroded. It is on one of the staircase leading to the cemetary. Near these steps, there are postholes. The inscription measures 1.7 m. × 40 cm. Letters 7 cm × 7 cm.

Characters : Brāhmī, 200 A.D.
Language : Prakrit
Orthography : The characters fully agree with the period.

Text

L 1 Sidha - - - ya - - - yasa (putasa) - -
L 2 - - - Chemulakasa Kamasa
L 3 ye patho deyadhama

It is the meritorious gift of a path by the son of Yasa from Chemula (modern Chaul, Raigad Dist., Maharashtra).



Inscription No. 57 Figure No. 69 Cave No. 101

Inscription No. 58 (eye copy) Figure No. 70 Cave No. hill-top.

APPENDIX
APPENDICES

Appendix 1
Place Names

Place Name	Identification	Inscription No.	Cave No.
Ambālikāvihāra	at Kalyan	6	3
Ambālikāvihāra	at Kalyan	43	75
Chemula	Modern chaul (Raigad dist Maharashtra)	20	7
Chemulaka	inhabitant of Chaul	50	hilltop
Dhenukākaṭa	modern Dharanikota	38	65
Gandhārakabhami	a ward in Kalyan	28	32
Kaliyaṇa	Kalyan	3	2
Kaliyaṇa	Kalyan	4	2
Kaliyaṇa	Kalyan	6	3
Kaliyaṇa	Kalyan	25	21
Kaliyaṇa	Kalyan	28	32
Kaliyaṇa	Kalyan	29	near Cave No.32
Kalianaka	inhabitant of Kalyan	40	73
Kaliyaṇa	– do –	43	75
Kalianikā	inhabitant of Kalyan	55	98
Kaṇhasela	Kanheri	25	21
– do –	– do –	54	98
Magalathāna	Magalṭhana Village near Kanheri	25	21
Mukuḍasivāyivā	name of a ward	28	32
Nāsika	the donor Nakaṇaka was inhabitant of Nasik	2	2
Patiṭhaṇa	Paithan	6	3
Rājatalāka	a lake near Pratisthāna	6	3
Sāgarapalogana	name of a cave	56	99
Saphau	modern Saphale near Virar (dist.Thana)	40	73
Sopāraga	Sopara	17	7
Sopārakāhāra	Sopara, uni-administrative	6	3
Sopārayaka	inhabitant of Sopāraka	46	86
Sopāra	—	24	16
Sopāra	—	32	41

Appendix 2
Personal Names

Personal names	Profession	Inscription No.	Cave No.
Achala	Pavajita, thera Bhadanta, monk	5	3
Ahija	Mahābhoja	29	59
Ānaḍa (Ananda)	father of Apareṇu – a merchant from Kalyan	33	50
Anada	brother of Achārya vira Pavajita	30	39

Personal names	Profession	Inscription No.	Cave No.
Apareṇu	Negama, upāsaka	25	21
Apareṇu	Negama	5	3
Bhānu	donor	1	2
Bhāravi	donor	1	2
Bhāskara	donor	1	2
Bodhika	thera bhadanta	38	65
Bodhika	Bhadanta Supervisor of Chaitya construction	5	3
Bodhisamā	mother of Veṇhunandi	41	74
Boppai (Vopadeva)	donor	1	2
Buddhaghosa	–	7	3
Budhaka	–	28	32
Budhaka	–	42	74
Budharakhita	Achārya	9	3
Buddhaśrī	–	14	3
Chelladeva	donor	1	2
Dāmilā (Bhoigi)	donor	54	98
Dāmilā	Bhikhuṇi	55	98
Dāma	Aṇāgāmin	Epitapha No. 1	87
Dhāma	negama	28	32
Dhāma	housewife	42	74
Dhāmadevi	daughter-in-law of Ananda (donor)	15	21
Dhammapāla	Bhadanta	5	3
Dhamapāla	thera bhadanta	15	4
Dhamaṇaka	Goldsmith	15	4
Dhamaṇaka	donor	20	in front of cave No.7
Dharmagupta (Bhadanta)	donor	8	3
Dharmmavatsa	teacher of the Traipitaka	7	3
Dheṇasena	–	39	66
Gahala (Bhadanta)	Overseer	5	3
Gajamita	Vāṇijaka	5	3
Gajasena	Vāṇijaka	5	3
Gautamīputra		5	3
Yajñaśri	Sātavāhana king	15	21
Ghosa	Thera Bhadanta	34	54
Golaṇaka	Negama – father of Isipāla	40	73
Hālaka	Thera Bhadanta	35	59
Hālaṇikā	wife of donor	42	74
Indasena		Epitaph No. 5	
Isipāla	negama	40	73
Juvāriṇikā	the mother of Ānanda	15	21
Kaṇha	donor	35	59
Khadaraki	miṭhika (polisher)	5	3
Khandanā-gasataka	–	39	66
Khemaka	Thera Āyya	Epitaph No.10	
Khemaka	Thera Āyya	Epitaph No.12	
Kulapiya	–	38	65
Sakasena	king	41	74
Mitabhuti		56	99
Nada	Blacksmith	29	in front of cave 32
Nagamulanikā	–	39	66
Nākaṇaka	donor	2	2
Nāgapalita	maṇikāra	46	86
Nandinikā	donor's mother	33	50
Naṇṇa	Vaidya (Physician)	1	2
Pohoi	donor	1	2
Poṇakisaṇā	donor	34	54
Puṇaka	Sethi	32	41
Punavasu	Negama	3	2
Pusamita	Negama	45	81
Ratinikā	–	38	65
Rohiṇimita	heraṇika	18	7
Rohiṇimita	-do-	20	in front of cave 7
Sangha-devanikā	–	33	50
Sāmidata	goldsmith (suvarṇakāra)	3	2
Sāpā	Pavaitikā	38	65
Sāmika	upāsaka	17	7
Śāteraka	minister (Thera Bhadanta)	16	5
Seümla	overseer of the chaitya construction	5	3
Sivamita	donor	28	32
Sivapālitanikā	housewife	15	4
Sulasadata	–	18	7
Suvai	donor	1	2
Tilapālaka	Arhat	Epitaph No. 6	
Veṇhunandi	Negama	41	74
Vira	Āchārya, Bhayant	30	39
Vesu (Bhaṭṭa)	donor	1	2
Vijayamita	Bhadanta	5	3
Vijayamita	Thera Bhadanta	Epitaph No. 11	
Vijayasena	Tevija	Epitaph No. 9	

Appendix 3
Architectural Terms

Architectural Terms	Identification	Inscription No.	Cave No.
Asanapeḍhikā	bench	28	32
bigabha	a house with two apartments	28	32
bhojana-chatusālā	a quadrangular dining hall in the vihāra at Kalyan	28	32
chaṅkama	steps	28	32
cheti	a chaitya house at Kalyan	5	3
chetiaghara	a chaitya building at Pratishṭhana	6	3
koḍhi	(a hall) at Pratisthāna	6	3
koḍhi	residential room	15	21
kuṭi	meditation room at Pratishṭhāna	6	3
Leṇa	cave	15	21
Leṇa	cave	39	66
Leṇa	cave	33	50
Leṇa	cave	39	66
Leṇa	cave	48	88
Leṇa	cave	54	98
Leṇa	cave	55	98
Leṇa	cave	56	99
Leṇa	cave	46	86
Leṇa	cave	34	54
Leṇa	cave	41	74
Leṇa	cave	42	74
Leṇa	cave	40	73
Leṇa	cave	30	39
Leṇa	cave	28	32
maṭapa	porch	40	73
ovaraka	cells at Kalyan	6	3
ovaraka	cell	33	50
ovaraka	thirteen cells at Pratishṭhāna	6	3
Pāniyabhājana	water cistern	16	5
Pāniyaka	,,	3	2
Pāniyapoḍhi	water-cistern	28	32
Pāniyapoḍhi	,,	34	54
pāniyapoḍhi	water-cistern	48	88
Pāniyapoḍhi	water-cistern	33	50
Pāniyapoḍhi	water-cistern	38	65
patha	steps	20	in front of cave 7
Patha	steps	28	32
Pavāḍa	Lattice window	40	73
Poḍhi	cistern	55	98
Poḍhi	cistern	40	73
Poḍhi	cistern	18	7
Poḍhi	cistern	55	98
Saghārāma	monastery	6	3
Sāgara-palogana	name of a cave	56	99
Sata	Refectory	2	2
Talāka	The inscription on a detached rock has mentioned the donation of a lake by sethi Puṇaka from Sopara	32	Near cave No. 41
Upaṭhānasālā	a hall of reception at Ambālikāvihāra Kalyan	6	3
Vihāra	Vihara at Kalyaṇ	28	32

Appendix 4
Professions

Profession name	Personal name	Inscription No.	Cave No.
Āchariya (thera bhadanta)	Seümla	5	3
Āchāriya	bhayata Vira	30	39
Heraṇika (Treasurer)	Rohiṇimita	18	7
	Rohiṇimita	20	in front of cave no.7
Kamāra (Blacksmith)	Nada	29	in front of cave 32
Kaḍhichaka (artizen)		5	3
Kamisa		5	3
Mahākaṭaka		5	3
maṇikāra	Nāgapalita	46	86
miṭhika (polisher)		5	3
vānijaka	Gajasena	5	3
vānijaka	Gajamita	5	3
Negama	Dhama	29	32
- ,, -	Isipāla	40	73
- ,, -	Veṇhunaṁdi	41	74
negama	Apareṇu	25	21
Selavaḍhaki (Stone mason)		5	3
sethi	Pūṇaka	32	in front of cave 41
Sethi	Pusamita	45	81
vaidya (Physician)	Naṇṇa	1	2

Appendix 5
List of Inscriptions

Inscription No.	West No.	Lüders No.
1	1	934
2	2	985
3	–	–
4	3	986
5	4	987
6	5	988
7	6	989
8	7	990
9	9	992
10	8	991
11	59	–
12	48	1028
13	49	1029
14	–	–
15	10	993
16	11	994
17	12	995
18	13	996
19	50	1030
20	57	1033
21	43	–
22	–	–
23	–	–
24	47	1027
25	44	1024
26	45	1025
27	46	1026
28	16	998
29	53	1032
30	17	999
31	42	1023
32	52	1031
33	37	1018
34	24	1006
35	25	1007
36	41	1022
37	38	1019
38	39	1020
39	40	1021
40	18	1000
41	20	1002
42	19	1001
43	21	1003
44	27	1009
45	28	1010
46	23	1005
47	22	1004
Epitaph No.23	58	–
48	54	–
49-50	55	–
	56	
51	36	1016
53	34	1015
54	32	1013
55	33	1014
56	31	1012
57	29	1010

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INDEX

A

Abhaya 26
(one of the four qualities of the Buddha)
Abhidhammapiṭaka 61
Abhīra 8
Achala 51, 98
(Thera Bhadanta)
Adhimuktibalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Adhiṭhāna Vasi 120
Aihole 45
Ajanta 24
Akhayanīvi 16, 52, 75, 77, 81, 98
Amarāvati 30
Ambālika Vihāra 17, 95
at Kalyan
Amitābha 24, 25, 26
***Amitāyurdhyānasutra* 24**
Amoghavarṣa I 10, 72, 73
Rāshtrakūta King
Ānanḍa 51,57
Ānanḍapura 47, 52
Ānanḍaputa 16
Aṇāgāmin 29, 114
Āndhra 62
Andhaka 29, 34
(Buddhist sect)
Andhakavīra 132
Aniruddhapura 9, 61
Aparāta 7, 8, 9, 16
Aparānta 19, 61
Aparāditya 45
Aparaseliya 16, 30, 91
(Buddhist sect)
Antevāsini 77
Apareṇuka 16, 38, 51, 75
Āsabhaṭhana 26
(one of the four qualities of the Buddha)
Āsanapeḍhikā 17, 77
Āsavakhayañaṇbalam 26, 114, 136
(one of the ten qualities of the Buddha)
Aśoka 1, 10
(Mauryan Monarch)
Aṣṭamahābhaya 31
Atigupta 10, 26
Atthapaṭisaṁbhidā 114
Avalokiteśvara 24, 25, 26, 34
Avalokiteśvara Ekādasa mukhadhārini 25, 26, 30
Avajjanā Vasi 120
Avichi 70, 73

B

Bāḍilana 136
(monk)
Barygaza 16
Bigabha 17
Bodhika 14, 91
(Thera Bhadanta)
Bodhisamā (f) 95
Bodhisatva 26, 27
Bhadrajāṇijja 86
Bhadrāvṇiya 30, 51
(Buddhist sect)
Bhāgavat Purāṇa 8
Bhānu 14, 45
Bhāravi 14, 45, 47
Bhāskara 14, 45
Bhāvabalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Bhojanachatusālā 17, 30
Bhoigi 147
Bodhika 51
Boppai 14, 45

Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa 31
Buddharāja 10
(Kalachuri king)
Buddharakṣita 24, 56
donor
Buddharuchi 61
Buddhaśri 25
Bhūtapāla 47
Borivali 1
(suburb of Bombay)
Buddhaghoṣa 24, 52
(Guardian of Gandhakuṭi)
Budhaka 77, 98
donor

C

Calliana 16
Chātudisabhikhusaṅgha 77
Chetiya 52
Chaula 1, 7, 16
Chelladeva 45
donor
Chemulika 66, 77, 152
Chhalabhiñāṇa 114, 125
Chakama 17, 77
Chaṣṭana 37
Chikhalyapallikā 27
Chīvara 75, 81
Chita 47
Chittutpattiñaṇabalam 26, 70
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Chivarika 77, 91
Commodus 16
Roman Emperor

D

Dachinabades 16
Dakṣiṇāpatha 7, 8
Damachika 38
Dāma 114
(aṇāgāmin)
Dāmā pavajitikā 102
mother of Navinaka
Dāmilā, Bhoigi 15, 29, 38, 147
Bhikhuṇi
Dahamarakhita 19
Dharmagupta 14
Dharmma pāla 14, 33
Pālaking
Dharmavatsa 14
(Teacher of Tripiṭaka)
Dhenukākaṭa 16, 30, 91
Diago-de-Cauto 1
Portuguese-traveller
Daśabali 25
Daśabhumi Sutra 25
Dhama 14, 98
(Negama)
Dhamadevi 14, 15
Dhammapāla 17, 51, 62
Thera, Bhadanta
Dhammapada 114
Dhamaṇaka 14, 16, 62, 66, 91
donor
Dhyāṇi Buddha 31
Dheṇaseṇa 95
Dhammapaṭisaṁbhidā 114
Dhitimūla 120
Dibbachakhu 114, 132
Dibbasota 114, 132
Dipaṅkara Buddha 30
Dipatārā 31, 33, 34
Dhūpa Tārā 33, 34
Dom-Jaco-de-Castro 1
Portuguese Traveller
Dramma 6, 70, 72
Durgā 30

E

Ekādaśamukhahṛdi 26
mantrahṛdaya sutra
Ekādaśasmukha-Dhāraṇi 26
Ellora 33

G

Gahala 51
Gahapati 13, 95
Gajamita 16, 51
Gajasena 16, 51
Gaṇāchārya 136
Gandhāra 38
Gandha Tārā 33
Gandhārikābhami 15, 77
Garcia – d'orta 1
Portuguese traveller
Gāthāsattasai 10
Gauḍadesha 10, 70
Gautama (gotra) 25
Gautamī Balaśri 14, 25
(Sātavāhana queen)
Gautamiputra Sātakarni 1, 8, 25
Gautamiputra Yajñaśri 8, 51, 75
Satakarni
Gemelli Careri 1
Italian traveller
Ghariṇi 13, 86
(housewife)

Ghoṣitārāma 17
(monastery)
Golaṇaka (negama) 95
Ghoṣa 14, 15, 29
(Therabhadanta)
Govinda III 33
Rāshtrakūṭa king
Guṇakāraṇḍvyuha 25

H

Hadrian 15
Roman Emperor
Hālaka 14, 29, 88
(Therabhadanta)
Hālanika 98
Harişeṇa 9, 10, 61
Vākāṭaka king
Heraṇika 16, 62
(Jeweller)
Hinayāna 27, 34
Hiuen Tsang 10, 125
(Chinese traveller)
Huṇa invasion 10

I

Idhi 114, 132
Indasena 114
Indrāgnidatta 24
(Yavana donor from Nasik)
Indriyaparāparañaṇabalam 26
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Isipāla 95

J

Jagattunga 10, 33, 70
Rāshtrakūṭa King Govinda III
Jamadevanikā 147
Jātikhaya 114
Jetavana 17
Jhāyin 111, 132
Jñānabalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Juvāriṇikā 14, 15, 75

K

Kaliaṇa 7, 47, 52, 75, 77, 81, 86, 95
Kāhāpaṇa 75, 77, 81
Kakusandha 24
Kalidāsa 45
Kallivana 9
Kalinga 61
Kaṇha 29, 88
Kaṇhagiri 77
Kaṇhasela 16, 75, 147, 152
Kanakamuni 24
(one of the seven Buddhas)
Kāṇaka 8, 17, 61
Kapardin II 10, 70, 73
Śilāhāra King
Karmavipākañaṇabalam 25
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Kārdamaka 62
Karle 47
Karuṇā 27
Kaśyapa 24
(one of the seven Buddhas)
Khandanāgaśataka 14
Khandarakhi 51
Khema 26
(one of the four qualities of the Buddha)
Khemaka 125
Kīrtivarman 10
Badami Chālukya King 10
Kṛṣṇa 14
Kṛṣṇagiri 1, 10, 33, 61, 70, 73
Kṣaharāta 7, 8
Kuan – yin 10, 26, 27
Kumbhipāka 70
Kulapiya 91
Kuntala 62
Kuṭi 52
Kutubini 51
Konkaṇa 71
Konkaṇavallabha 72
Koḍhi 52
Koliveśmikā 73
Kosala 26
Kṣāntibalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Kuśalamula 95

L

Lalitopakhyāna 31
Lāṭa 62, 70
Lavanikā 14, 15, 98
Lohanagara 10
(a village in Baglan taluka, Nasik Dist.)

M

Mādhariputa Sakasena 8, 15, 39, 95, 98
Madhyamasena 9, 10, 61
Traikuṭaka King
Magadha 31
Magalaṭhana 15, 30, 75
Mahābhoji 8

Mahāgandhakuṭi 24, 52
Mahākaṭāhāra 61
(Mahad, Raigad dist., Maharashtra)
Mahārāja Mahāvihāra 34
Mahārathi 8
Mahāseṅghika 13
Mahāvastu 24
Mahāyāna 16, 19, 24
Mahāyāna sutra 24
Majjhima Nilkcāya 25, 110
Maṇibhadra 61
Maṇikāra 14, 102
(Jeweller)
Maṇḍikalini 9
Village in Talikaṭahāra
Matvan 9
(a village, Ratnagiri Dist., Maharashtra)
Matsyapurāṇa 8
Maudgalāyana 17, 61
Medhāśiva 8
Milindapaña 19
Mitabhuti 17, 152
Mitaṇaka 29, 136
donor
Miṭhika 16, 51
(polisher)
Muchalindanāga 30
Mukuḍasivāyiva 77
Muṇḍapāla 14, 15

N

Nānadhātuñaṇabalam 25
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Nānādhimuktiñaṇabalam 27
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Nanaghat 7, 37, 38, 61
Nāgamūlalanikā 8, 14, 15, 95
donor
Nāgapālita 14, 102
(maṇikāra)
Nāgārjuna 24, 25
Nāgārjunikoṇḍa 30
Nahapāna 45
Kṣaharāta king
Nākaṇaka 8, 14, 17, 47
Nanda 81
Nandana 98
Nandinikā 86
Nānhapodhi 17, 98
Naṇṇa – Vaidya 14, 45
Navakarmisa 16
Navinaka 102
Nibbāna 27
Nalanda 24
Nasik 7, 8, 30, 37, 47
Nepal 31
Nigamasabhā 38
Nirutipaṭisambhidā 114. Nirvāṇāsā 136
Niṣpannayogāvali 31

P

Pabhiṇṇa 114
Pachhavekhaṇā vasi 120
Pāniyabhājana 17, 38
Pahalavas 1
Pahlavi Inscriptions 142-147
Parachittavijānanā 114, 132
Parigahitā 102
Paritāpa 70
Parṇaśabari 33
Pañchāṅgika dhyāna 111, 114
Paṭipaṭṭibalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Paṭisaṁbhidā 29, 114
Paṭibhāṇapatisaṁbhidā 114
Pavāḍa 95
Pavajita 77
Pavajitika 88
Pattiyaṇaka Yoga 27, 70
Periplus of the Erethrean Sea 16
Phalakavāra 38
Pohoi – donor 45
Poṇakisaṇā – theri 15, 29, 88
Prahāṇabalam 26
Prajña 27
Pratibhāṇabalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Pratisaṁkhyānabalam 25
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Pratiṣthana 7, 15
Patiṭhāna 52
Pubbenivāsa 114, 132
Pubbaselika 30
Pulakeśi II 10
Badāmi Chālukya king
Pullaśakti 10, 25, 70
Śilāhāra king
Pūṇaka – sethi
Punavasu 14, 47
Puṇyabalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Purvanivāsānusmṛtiñaṇabalam 26
Purṇahari 72
Pusamita 14, 102
Puṣpatārā 33
Puṣyavarman 25, 61

R

Rājagirika
Rājatalāka 52
Rāmaṇaka 38
Ramatirtha 45
Rashtrakuta 37
Ratinikā 15, 91
Ravikirti 45
Rohiṇimita 14, 66
(heraṇika)
Ru – 15
daughter of Rudradāman
Rudradāman 8, 38, 62
Kṣatrapa ruler

S

Sabbaltthagāminipaṭipadā 25
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Sādhanamālā 31
Ṣaḍabhijñana 114
Ṣaḍabhijñani 29
Sāgarapalogana 17, 152
Saghārāma 52
Śakas 1
Sakadāgāmi 29
Śākya 29, 52
Śākyamuni 24
Samādhibalam 26
(one of the ten powers of Bodhisatva)
Samaṇapāpakehi 29
Sāmidata 47
Saṁyuttanikāya 27
Samudragupta 27
Gupta Emperor
Samylla
(modern chaula, Maharashtra)
Saṁyuttanikāya 27
Saṅgha 19
Saṅghadevanika 14, 86
Saṅghananda 14, 120
Śankaragaṇa 10
Kalachuri king
Sāpā 14, 29, 91
(pavaitikā)
Saphau 15
(modern Saphale near Bombay)
Śāradvatiputra 25
(chief disciple of the Buddha)
Saraguṇa 7, 16
Sarnath 34
Sariputa 17, 61
Sarvadhyānavimokṣa – 26
-samādhināṇabalam
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Sarvañja 120
Śāteraka 38, 62
Savitri 13
Savitriputra 13
Satyavān 13
Selavaḍhaki 16, 51
Sethi 15, 84
Seümla 51
(Achariya Thera Bhadanta)
Siddhālthika 36
Śikhi 24
(one of the seven Buddhas)
Śilāhāra 45
Simhanādasutta 25
Sindhudesha 8, 17
Simuka 7
(Sātavāhana king) 8
Sivamita 14, 77
Sivapālitanikā 14, 15, 16, 17, 62
Śivadata 95
Sivatana 147
Sopara 1, 7, 8, 38, 45, 75
Sopārakāhāra 45, 46, 52
Sotāpanna 29
Sthānasthānabalam 25
(one of the ten powers of the Buddha)
Sthaviravādi 34
Sugata 70
Sukhāvati Vyūha 25
Sulasadata 14, 66
Śumbhā 33
Śunya 27
Śurpāraka 47
Suvai 14, 45

T

Tālikaṭāhāra
Thalghat 9, 61
Tāra 33
Tathāgata 2
Tejahkaṇtha 47
Tevija 29
Thalaghat 38
Theravādin 19
Tilapālaka 114
Toramāṇa 25
Traikuṭaka
dynasty 1, 8, 9, 10, 37
Trikuṭa 9
Tulasi Lake 1
Traipitakopādhyāya 29, 30
Tuṣāpha 84

SOAS LIBRARY

U

Uparakhita 16
Upāsaka 29
Upaṭhānasālā 28
Upostha 28
Usabhadata 38
Uṣṇiṣavijayā 33
Uṭṭhāna Vasi 120

V

Vaijayanti 47
Vākāṭaka 37
  dynasty
Vaṅkaṇaka 61
Vajrayāna, cult 30, 33
Vajraghaṇṭā 33
Vajrāṅkuśi 33
Vajrapāṇi 61
Vajrapāśi 33
Vajrasphoṭā 33
Vāṇijaka 15, 51
Varāhadeva
  minister of Hariṣena 9, 61
Vasi 120
Vāsiṣṭha – gotra 10
Vasiṣṭhi – metronymic 10
Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi 1, 8
Vāsisthiputra Sātakarṇi 8, 38, 62
Vassāvāsa 27
Venhunandi 14, 95
Vesārajja 45
Vessabhu 24
Vevā 10, 29
Vijayamita 51, 125
Vijayasena 111
Vikramasena 9
  Traikuṭaka king
Vinhupāla 38
Vipassi 24
Viṣṇugupta
Viṣṇupāla 24, 72
Viṣṇu Purāṇa 8
Vyāghrasena 9
  Traikuṭaka king

Y

Yaśodharman 10
Yaśogupta 10, 26